THE ARTS OF LIFE

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The arts of life.

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THE ARTS OF LIFE

BY

RICHARD ROGERS BOWKER

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In His Name

AND WITH THE NAMES OF
PAUL THE WORLD-APOSTLE,
DARWIN, SPENCER, GLAD-
STONE, WORLDS-MEN ALL,
THIS ESSAY OF RECONCILI-
ATION IS INSCRIBED

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PROEM

GROWTH

(On reading Schliemann's "Troy" and Tylor's "Primitive Culture")

. . . Ah, old Troy! long buried, long forgot!
Below, another Troy; below, Troy older! What
Below, who telleth? Such is aye man's lot —

Building on his earth-hid past,
The last forever to last!
Ah, the leaves in Time's blast,

How they whirl and flutter and fall,
And cover the old with their pall,
And nourish the new with their all!

Behold Life's history!
Behold Death's mystery!
Behold Earth's prophecy!

In every new lives all the old;
The present builds on all pasts' mould.
So the beads of Time's rosary are told.

And still the man repeats the race:
The baby's faltering, awkward grace
Pit-pats in the primeval pace.

PROEM

E'en in our common, daily talk,
The ghosts of generations stalk,
And hand in hand the ages walk.

And ever creeping forth from night,
And ever groping toward the light,
And ever seeking for the right,

Man's story from his birth
Re-tells the history of his earth
His water-and-fire-baptizéd earth,

Stratum on stratum piled. So men,
Thoughts, words, ways, deeds, — again,
Again, again, and yet again!

Graves engulf graves. The old, dead past
Coffins its pasts in rock-ribs fast.
And yet — and yet — it lives, the past!

Thus grows dear Earth toward starry skies
And buries cities — but new cities rise.
So the great race of man grows wise.

FOREWORD

FOREWORD

LIFE is an art.

There is born into this world, we know not whence, or how, or why, an infant Being. Out of this plastic clay is to grow, touch by touch, the divine image, the lovely statue of the Soul. Coarse clay or fine clay it may be, but coarse or fine it is to be formed, or de-formed. Created in the unknown genesis of elemental being, kneaded in the influences of all the ages that have made ready for it, rough-cast in the mould of its human parentage, it comes — to life. A life, in life! The hands that shape it first are not its own. But presently it becomes conscious, willing, responsible, into whose own care is put the shaping of its Self. Always human influences are about it, to help or to harm, to in-spirit or to de-face, and in its turn it becomes an influence, shaping as it is shaped. Around it is Nature, willing to give what each will take, and above it the infinite of the Heavens, from which comes light, to those whose eyes are open to that light. To him who will, this shaping of life becomes an art, and the highest of arts, in which all of us have part in the forming

The Infant Being

of each other soul, but in which also, and above all, each soul is the master-artist of its Self.

The Art of Living

We have not so willed; we have not set ourselves so to do. With all our learning, we have failed to learn living. With all our science, we have neglected the science of our own lives. With all our art, we have ignored the art which lifts all other arts to their supreme purpose and in which all other arts should fruit.

Character the supreme Flower

The supreme flower is a human character. The unfolding rose, perfect among flowers, in full beauty of form and glory of color and radiance of scent, is but its type. To produce the perfect rose is an art. Nature gives us the wild rose and the eglantine, the scentless flower, the scented leaf, of these roses of the field. The gardener knows plant-life, selects and brings together, studies the seedling or the graft, and according to the needs of the growing plant gives it light and air and warmth and soil and care. And with the shapings of his art, comes at last the rose perfect after its fashion, the rose among roses.

The Soul the supreme Jewel

The supreme jewel is a human soul. The diamond is but its symbol, in perfect cutting giving forth from its every-sided facets, with

all beauty of sparkle and of color, the light which it takes unto itself. The cutting of the diamond is an art. He who will cut a great jewel trains himself in much knowledge of jewels, studies with infinite patience his jewel in the rough to know in what form it will best shine, concentrates his knowledge, his skill, his very life in conscious and conscientious toil at his task, spends months upon a facet and a lifetime in completing the perfect work. And nothing less fine than diamond itself can cut the diamond, — so human development answers only to human character.

A human life, each human life, may be and should be, in the same sense, a work of conscious and purposed art. It is the supreme defect of our civilization that we fail here. To the rearing of animals, to the perfecting of a piece of inanimate machinery, to the learning of a profession, we give time and thought and care and training which we do not give, in the highest human relations, to ourselves, or our children, or our friends, or the passing human beings who are a part of our lives and of whose lives we make part. Each day is a frame into which we may in large measure paint such pictures as we will;

A Life an Art Work

each life, and most of all one's own life, is a marble from which we may in some measure carve forth our ideal. Sometimes we say this about our children; less often we think it about ourselves; almost never do we get it into actual working realization for either.

The Study of Life

A girl goes to Paris to "study art," who has never thought at home of studying herself, or her home, or her friends, with any relation to the creative opportunities of the highest art, the modeling of souls, which are literally at her hand. The mistress of an "artistic" house forgets to apply to people the care she lavishes upon things: her table, her dinner, her toilet, is a work of art, but for her own development she has no care; her wines are of select vintage, but her conversation is the stale beer of gossip; she plays sonatas on the piano, but jangles human chords out of tune. The master of a profession studies daily the progress of his art, but fails to apply more than casual thought to the profession of living.

Our Service to imperfect Being

It is a strange contradiction that we give to imperfect being a service in this art of life which we fail to give to being which has in it the potentialities of perfection. Upon

a child who is deaf and dumb and blind has been lavished the concentrated skill of the most able people, consciously artists, developing from this deprived and denied life, at any cost, the fullest fruition of which there is capability within it. This process has been watched by thousands of sympathizing people, and its fair flower is one of the triumphs of the true Christliness of our day and generation. The education of the blind, of the deaf and dumb, of the half-witted, is more a matter of studied art than the education of our full-facultied millions of children. Our care for the insane is better than our care for the sane. The sanitation of prisons and asylums is better than that of most houses in which people live who have money enough to live "well." If we would but study our own race with the close observation we should give to an inhabitant of Mars, should the developing telescope discover such a being, and on such study build our living, what revelation and revolution would come into human life!

The wise Greeks, training the body to health, and the soul to joy, knew life as an art. The games of Greece were the school of the

The wise Greeks

nation. Here Nature was aided to do her best, and the joy of a whole people approved a perfect boy like Sophocles, and helped to round his manhood into that wholeness of life of which afterward the Roman poet sang. Selecting the best in Nature, the Greeks produced the Ideal. The abiding art of Phidias, sublime in its simplicity, came from the simple and rounded wholesomeness of Greek life, in which the world before Christ flowered. But it was the flower of the physical and intellectual life, not of the life spiritual.

The perfect Life

Afterward, among the Galilean hills, there was sown the seed of a new flowering of life. That seed has not yet had its full blossoming into the flower of perfect life. The Christian world has yet to take into its deeper and broader and richer and higher life much that the Greeks knew. Their temples were built white in the sunshine, leading in earth-lines to the shrine of the golden goddess. Ours spring from the gloom of high arches, pointing by heaven-lines, in spires that pierce the lower clouds, to the abiding-place of One above all and beyond all. To us life cannot be complete. But it can be abundant. We also must study Nature to produce the Ideal, and realize our statue in mankind.

FOREWORD

Whoso masters life is the happy man. The Master of Life, in blessing his disciples, prayed that they might have "life more abundantly." That other men may have more of life, lovers of their race have toiled and martyrs have laid down their lives; and to those men and women who wish to fulfill life, to have life more abundantly for themselves and to obtain more abundant life for others, the study of the arts of life is the highest of studies. In fullness of life, life *is* worth the living.

Life more abundantly

FIRSTS AND LASTS

FIRSTS AND LASTS

THE most important fact that a man can make part of his being is this, that the first steps of right living in the personal life are in line with the ultimates of the universe. For all things work together for good and make for righteousness, — in the home, in the nation, for mankind, — only as individual lives work out their own salvation by accepting the personal responsibility of the individual, within the limitations of his environment. It is simpler to say that the firsts and lasts in the arts of life are faith, duty, content. The one is the scientific, the other the religious form of the like truth. For faith, duty, content are as much scientific needs as religious virtues.

The first Steps of right Living

For faith, "the evidence of things not seen," is the product, as regards the world of nature, of "the scientific use of the imagination." Through it we come to know that the same law which brings the apple to the ground holds the whirling earth in its place, and that in the moral as in the natural world effect follows cause, alike in the mysterious

Faith

succession of human life from generation to generation, and in the flow of human influence from spirit to spirit. Thus a scientific faith, based on knowledge, is the binding quality which, in the finite mind, links the human atom in the universe, so that it vibrates in harmony with that "music of the spheres" of which Plato dreamed.

Duty

And duty is simply the rightful application of the scientific fact that each atom, being thus linked in the universe, counts. In practical life there is no court which can judge more justly, or effect its decrees more surely, than the great court of the people which is voiced in "public opinion;" and public opinion, like the universe, is made up of individual atoms. It is not for any man to say whether he will count one, — he must count one, for good or for ill, — but in what direction and to what purpose he will count. It is thus that crimes can be punished and evils prevented which no laws can reach. It is thus also by one man's doing his duty, whether other people do or do not do theirs, that wealth can be rightly gained and government be rightly ordered and the healing of the nations be assured.

And content is the recognition of and re-

conciliation with human limitations — the limitations of humanity in the human soul; the limitations of the particular man in his particular place. It is for that art of life, called religion, which deals with the spirituality of man, to discern the greater limitations. But apart from the knowing or unknowing of the First Cause, there are everywhere limitations that forbid an ultimate generalization and a complete definition. "Every rule has its exception," says the proverb; and a principle, pushed to an ultimate analysis beyond its proper limitations, becomes too often a *reductio ad absurdum*. The endeavor to find a single basis of philosophy or adequate statement of human relations in such words as idealism or materialism, as predestination or free-will, as utility or self-interest, is and must be in measure fruitless, in measure worse, and more often than not it resolves itself into disastrous quarrel of nomenclature. Human life, and human lives, are relatives, not absolutes, in relation to the final things.

Content

But as regards the every-day things, they are absolute enough for practical purposes of every-day living. Despite the predestination recognized by science in heredity, in environment, in circumstance, science finds

A sufficient Basis for Free-will

in self-culture of motive a sufficient basis for free-will, and "your own conscience" recognizes always a middle ground of practical, personal responsibility. Heredity and circumstance are limitations within which every volition nevertheless counts. The cases are few in which man may not discern an ought and an ought not.

The Ideas which rule Life

One of the best things that a man can do for himself and for his kind is to bring clearly into his own conscious acceptance and into that of other men the ideas which should inspire and control life. It is true that it takes a long time to get a thought, through our minds, into our being. To assimilate new motives of action into daily life is no miracle of a moment. But sooner or later this is done. Ideas rule motives, and motives rule life. Thought, will, action, are the successive steps through which the human spirit fulfills itself. After a time, perhaps after a generation has passed away, the idea which was at first intellectually apprehended becomes livingly apprehended; the muscles respond to it almost without volition, as to heat or light. It is in the life-blood of the new generation. This is progress. And to

make sure of progress, the soldier should see the flag he is to follow and for which he is to stand.

The direction of an age comes to it often from the closets of its students or from the graves which seem to have sealed their speech. Thence the book, the still small voice which speaks from silence into silence, carries thought into the wills of men. This is the use of a real book: it kindles a flame, that from its light other lights may be lighted forever. It is the final function of the scholar to inform his fellow men how they may help or hinder progress. In those far towers of outlook whence the quiet generals of thought command the battlefields, not of war but of peace, the truest service is done. This is the business in the world of the scholar, to divert men from the discouragement and waste of ill-directed effort and to enlist them in line with the coördinating forces of nature and human development; to reduce the useless and destructive activity thrown ignorantly or carelessly counter to progress, and to stimulate common endeavor in the line of ascertainable advance. With this purpose, by the aid of the scientific method on which he relies to verify progress, history, the

The Function of the Scholar

study of the past, becomes to the scholar, as sociology, a science of the present which gives the key to the future. He is enabled to study and discern his own age, as he has studied those gone by. The thinker who can reach the ideas which sway his time, to the correction of those which are ill and the promotion and diffusion of those which are good in tendency, gives to progress an intelligent impetus that speeds the world. And in educing these ideas and bringing them into the domain of will, he makes sociology an art, and performs a work with which that of the politician does not compare. He is the true leader, — not statesman only, but worldsman.

A leading Thought as ruling Motive

Thus an age is fashioned in its ideas. Commonly at the root of these there may be found, in a great age, a leading thought, which produces the ruling motive. This is the soul of the age, and moulds its life and history as the human soul conforms the body to be the outward expression of itself. The search for it makes history a study in psychology. It may be the splendid inspiration of one great man; it may be the outgrowth of a school; it may be the voicing of the vague yearnings of the mass; it may be un-

voiced, yet potent. However it be produced, it gives to the age its *character*.

Upon the strength and positiveness of its guiding thought the greatness and influence of an age depend. The positive idea of the Protestant era, the supremacy of the individual conscience, made its age glorious, and gave birth to liberty. The development of science marks ours as the scientific age. According as we find or do not find in science a positive and permeative thought, we may hope or fear for the age in which we live. And this is above all important. For if we cannot hope for our age, it is hard to work in it.

The Age-thought

If, then, ideas rule, and a great age has its guiding idea, the first step of the reconciliation of the individual man with all about him, the key to much that constitutes individual happiness, is that he should recognize this idea, and feel himself part of the great age. And surely all auguries prophesy the coming century as a supreme era. The poets would have us sing with them a golden age, which never was ; science foresees it in the future, if we will work, in hope, for its coming. The students of centuries speak with no uncer-

Ours a supreme Era

tain voice: the world has never truly turned backward.

Five Hundred Years

In five hundred years there has been a progress unexampled in all the previous past. A grand progression it has been — Columbus followed by Magellan; and Gutenberg by Luther; and Copernicus by Galileo and Kepler and Newton; and Bacon by Darwin and Spencer; and Watt by Stephenson and Fulton and Hoe; and Franklin by Henry and Morse and Bell and Edison; and Peel by Gladstone, and Washington by Lincoln. The wedding of the old and new continents and the perfecting of the world into a rounded whole, the declaration of our earth's true relations with the universe; the enlargement of knowledge by the inductive reasoning; the Protestant emancipation of thought; the impetus given to intellectual activity by the invention of printing and to material activity by the application of steam; the second unification of the world by means of the railroad, the steamboat, the newspaper, the telegraph, and the telephone; the political growth which has developed a true government by the people, — would seem to culminate in the age upon which we are entering as that of most importance in the world's long his-

tory. Knowledge is groping toward unity, and the race is becoming one. It is grand to breathe the air of such an era.

Principles underlying Transition

It is, then, the question of questions whether, in this scientific age, in these times of transition and doubt, some permanent principles may be discerned in social and religious relations making for progress and faith. And the signs of the times make answer, — that in our day various lines of historic progress, especially the development of inventions which bring natural forces into line with human progress, and the unitizing of knowledge by means of the comparative method, combine and culminate to make the world and humankind for the first time practically one. That this process has been accompanied, necessarily, by such sundering of old ties, in social, political, and religious relations, as to leave humankind in the dangerous disintegration of atoms combined only in the unstable equilibrium of explosives — "every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost" — which presents the dark side of the picture. That in this centrifugal condition of things, the centripetal force needed is to be found in the new importance

developed by science for the doctrine of the conservation and correlation of forces, which becomes in philosophy the necessary and eternal relation of cause and effect, and in morals the like doctrine of personal responsibility.

A common Ground

It is all important, then, to consider what may be and will be the practical applications of this newly emphasized doctrine to current problems in the arts of life, in education, business, politics, and religion. It may be that, as regards government, this doctrine is potent to meet dreaded results of universal suffrage, and that as regards religion, its professional apostles must fulfill more completely the present tendency to join with morality and science in emphasizing good life as the primal basis, — a common ground on which those may meet who believe in a revealed God, or who discern only Nature's good; who see no farther than this life of passing opportunities, or who look for a life to come.

The Essence of Christianity

The conditions which have made possible the modern kind of progress are to be traced to the giving of that catholic religion which offered equal terms to all men, wheresoever

upon the earth. The very essence of Christianity is the equal and direct never-to-be-delegated responsibility of all men, that is, of each man, as children of the All-Father, through that individual conscience by which the good of Nature becomes the God in man. This central thought, sown in the parables of the Master, brought into practical life through the vision of Peter, and developed into full significance in the preaching of Paul, contained two elements, an opportunity and a responsibility, whose interaction has resulted in the modern world. In asserting the immediate relation of men to God, and the consequent supremacy of individual conscience, as against traditionary superstition and the despotism of priestly mediation, Christianity freed intellect as well as soul, and compelled men to liberty of thought. In proclaiming the actual brotherhood of man on this wide earth, it furnished motive and occasion for completing our knowledge of the world and realizing the union of mankind, and called each man to his responsibility for the race. And it is this opportunity of liberty and this responsibility of unity which have produced to-day.

An Opportunity and a Responsibility

This religion was not spared the conven-

The Conventionalizing Tendency

tionalizing tendency which attacks all human processes, and the germ of liberty lay dormant a thousand years while a priestly hierarchy, surviving in Christianity despite Christianity, usurped the offices of individual religion and the authority vested only in individual conscience. The other phase of the central doctrine could be better bent to the purposes of priestship, and remained active. The Church gladly acknowledged responsibility for the race, because it offered spiritual occasion for material conquests ; and Columbus, carrying the cross at his prow, achieved the first step towards the material unity of mankind. But liberty was reasserted only by revolution ; it was left to those Reformers whom we know best in Luther, by defying a church which was not Christianity and setting conscience again upon its throne, to rescue for a new world the opportunity of liberty of thought.

The Chain of Unity

The first link in the chain of unity was the moral unity of mankind fully preached by Paul ; the second was the material unity of which the first practical step was the discovery by Columbus, and the latest has been the invention of the telephone. The wed-

ding of the "old" and the "new" continents was followed by the rounding of the world into perfected unity, through the circumnavigation by Magellan. Exploration, which raged as a fever, was followed by colonization, and thus began the fusion of races and of social conditions. Commerce, the great unionist, sought out every corner of the earth. And now the effect of the freeing of thought, in mastering the forces of Nature for the use of man, began to find application to this progress in material unity: he who put the magnetic needle in its box had made ocean exploration possible; the development of the chronometer and other instruments of navigation made ocean voyaging sure. It was left to Watt, in making the steam-engine practical, and to those inventors represented by the names of Stephenson and Fulton, in applying it to locomotion by land and sea, to achieve the next steps in material unity, by enabling man to transport himself at will, against time and tide, to any part of the world. The photograph performs the opposite service of bringing any part of the world before the eye, and thus contributes to our familiar realization of the unity of earth and of man. Printing, the great stride forward

Progress in material Unity

to intellectual unity, in its development of the book and newspaper, has assisted material unity as well. Finally, the telegraph, circling the earth, and the telephone, annihilating distance and time, have completed the work, so that in our era man for the first time feels the throb of all humanity. The nations are neighbors and kinsfolk. Man has to-day all the wide earth for his environment; the most frequent act of every-day life is predicated on the previous concurrence of the world at large. All the world contributes to the breakfast-table of each civilized man, and the whole earth is brought within the compass of his room in his morning paper.

The Unification of Knowledge

Coördinate with all this is the unification of knowledge. The freeing of thought led at once to steps in this direction. Copernicus' work on the true relations of the sun and planets was published soon after the early stirrings of the Reformation in Germany; but it was left to the next century to make the grand advance, when Galileo laid the foundation for experimental physics and reasserted the true relations of the earth; when Bacon emphasized the inductive method and proclaimed the essential unity of knowledges and their revealing inter-relations; when Kepler

calculated the uniform laws of planetary motion; when Newton discovered the binding law which makes the universe one. These grand achievements prepared the way for that comparative method which, presupposing and proving the principle of unity, underlies now every department of physical and metaphysical research, and affords the distinguishing characteristic of modern science. "The establishment of the comparative method of study has been the greatest intellectual achievement of our time. It has carried light and order into whole branches of human knowledge which were before shrouded in darkness and confusion. It has brought a line of argument which reaches moral certainty into a region which before was given over to random guesswork." The new chemistry finds that all molecules obey one law, and hints that the ultimate atoms of all substances may be the same; physics teaches in the correlation of forces that there is one force, however protean in shape; physiology finds in its doctrine of bioplasm one foundation for all bodily life, and in the biological sciences in general — botany, zoölogy, and their like — the individual invention of "systems" of classification has given place to comparative research

The comparative Method

for the one plan by which it is found Nature has wrought out all. And this passion of science for a complete generalization, upward, and for an ultimate analysis, downward, finds its culmination in the doctrine of evolution, which links together all creation into an organic whole, from the nebular mist of inchoate stars to the infinite variety of our human earth; from the simplest germ of the cell to the highest splendor of humanity. The word "universe" has new meaning for us in the fresh wonder of these turnings of the one.

The Unity of Society

Finally, we have reached out by similar steps into social unity. There is a growing sympathy with all mankind and all its past. The same comparative method that has done so much to disclose the unity of nature and of knowledge helps us also to the unity of society. Comparative philology has given us a light which shines clear into hitherto impenetrable darkness, and leads us up to the unity in diversity of tongues and races. Comparative politics, sociology, the new science of history — as much an advance on Schlegel's philosophy of history as was that on the bare chronicles of kings and battles — relate the civilized man in new ties of likeness, and therefore of kinship and concern, with the

most savage. We recognize all men as men, and no longer hold slaves. Comparative religion is doing true service in bringing the good to light from the old mythologies and heathen religions, and not only disclosing a general worship of a true Supreme Being, but showing evil and its incarnation as the shadow of good. Religious development links this life with a future life in logical if not proven unity. And even Positivism, in proclaiming its idea of humanity, emphasizes usefully the Christian doctrines of unity and responsibility.

The darker Side

Such are the considerations that suggest gratification with our age, but this is at once tempered and clouded with conditions that lead many to despair. The opening of the world has sundered men from the useful restrictions of their local environment. The development of society has substituted a complex for a simple life, and, in endeavoring to improve upon Nature, has introduced a train of ills. The widening of knowledge has led to no little perplexity of thought and action, and the coördinate growth of the critical spirit seems, to some, to dampen delight in life and sap faith. The unity of man seems

to have been accomplished at the expense of the disintegrated atoms.

The pessimist View

To the extreme pessimist, indeed, these difficulties rob life of worth, and make the life of the oyster, ending in a Nirvana, a happy refuge from modern progress. In this view, the world has grown wiser only to grow worse; the more we know, the less we believe; the more rules of life we discover, the less we regard them. To such, civilization is scarcely less than a crime, and science a sin. The *savant* is no better off than the savage; the twentieth century after Christ will have little more to show, when the balances are struck, than the twentieth century before Him. Every age is as ill off as its predecessors; as between God and the Devil, the latter is the supreme Deity and has the best of it.

The Solution of Discouragement

Now much of this discouragement *is* discouraging, yet the key to its solution is found in the very elevation of the race. Each age sets itself a higher standard than the standard from which it started, and, judging itself by its failure from the higher, rather than by its advance from the lower, finds reason to think ill of itself. It is the same process by which the "upper" classes of society attribute to

the "lower" classes wants which these do not feel, and so predicate an unhappiness of which they are by no means conscious, and which, therefore, does not for them exist. The ideal of our civilization is to prolong life and diffuse comfort. In reaching toward that ideal, there have been much mistaken legislation and much misdirected kindness: we have prolonged lives that are sickly and miserable, permitting them to propagate sickness and misery; and Christian charity, mistakenly applied, has increased pauperism. We see men unhappy, working at noisome work and under ill conditions, and on their behalf we envy the Greek and the savage. But for the Greek of history toiled the slave of whom history does not tell: the marble of the Parthenon came from quarries where men labored in despair, and the gold for Athené from toil as sad and difficult as our own. The savage suffered cold and storm and pestilence; the savage starved; the savage died before his time. We think of the past from the pomp that gets into the books; we know the present from the misery at our doors. And we forget, also, that even among the most miserable there are few to whom life is not the greatest of boons and its prolongation the

Mistakes and Misdirections

greatest blessing. Civilization accepts that view, and can verify progress even in its discouragements. But these are not for that reason to be ignored.

Old-time Relations

A chief difficulty is illustrated by the personal relationship among individuals. The simple living of earlier times held men together by ties which were closer and stronger because they were few. The community was small, and the individual had scarce any relations beyond it. The few people whom each knew, he knew all about; there was a direct relationship that had its bad side in the prying gossip of small places, but its good side in a strong feeling of association and responsibility. There were "fireside industries." The family was not yet disassociated from the neighborhood, and scattered abroad. A man was "tied to the apron-string" of his mother-home, safe within the somewhat narrow limits of that circumscribing radius. Modern ways have changed all that: and with increase of the number of relationships their vitality seems to have been decreased.

Centrifugal Tendencies

Particularly there is evident a weakening and sundering of the old ties which bound men effectively together into small organ-

isms, useful in their intermediary function in the state — the family, the neighborhood, the trade guild, the self-governing political unit. The disintegration of these concentrative organisms is very marked in this generation and in our own country. The weakening of family and household ties, which were the basis and furnished the intermediary body of early institutions, caused in part by a wider marriage system which has mingled qualities and produced better individual results, has dissipated a strong social and political bond into a mere genealogical sentiment. Collateral family relationship, in particular, has no longer much force. This is largely the result of the breaking of local ties by the increased facilities of locomotion. The boy transplants himself, or the young man takes his bride, a thousand miles from the old home and its countless ties of local association, and by similar processes a nation is formed while neighborhoods are dissolved.

The modern division of labor produces a double result in the same direction. It makes us dependent upon more people, as workers, but it separates us from them as men. The "hand," in a great manufactory, doing one thing that has but indirect relation to the

The Division of Labor

want of his fellow man, is cut off from any relationship with the man who will use his work; and the employer and the employed are separated also by as many steps. The selection, by this division of labor, of the most effective men for the great posts has also overburdened them with many responsibilities, until, it may be, having too many interests to oversee, the captain of industry is separated from and overlooks some.

The Results of War

And in our country, the results of the civil war, of the succeeding inflation, of the speculative dealing in fictitious values so long rampant, of the wonderful development of trade in general, suddenly elevating to unaccustomed riches considerable numbers of men and isolating a few of enormous fortune, have also set men loose from the environment to which before they were attached. Politically, also, since the war for the Union, men are less citizens of a State, but, overlooking the narrower bounds, more citizens of the Nation. The tendency of Protestantism itself is to dispense with intermediary relations, to have nothing between a man and his God. Thus society has become a fluent mass of individualized atoms.

But it is precisely as the atoms become fluent that the centripetal force successfully meets the centrifugal tendency : the waters of the sea are the most abiding thing in Nature. And where physical and incidental bonds of unity fail, it is to higher principles of moral gravitation that we look. The higher the relation the more does it emerge from the domain of predestination, of blind chance, into that of the conscious choice of men. Progress is made through men : at this last, the Divine has no other agent than the Human. This throws upon mankind, upon the individual man, upon the higher man, the responsibility of promoting progress, and of tempering the dangers which accompany its advance.

Centripetal Principles

For progress, like other forces, follows the wave line. The principle of limitations is again seen in the workings of the causes which make for progress. They work well so far : after a certain development, or if pushed too far, they work ill, they become inefficient, they are counterbalanced or cease. Thus human development pursues the wave line ; the drop of water goes down as well as up to meet the crest, but the motion is onward ; an improvement in machinery throws

The Wave Line of Progress

some one for the time out of work; wars that achieve liberty maim and kill and wreak demoralization: success has too often required sacrifice.

Progress verifiable

We have arrived at a supreme age, in which the world has become one and the race one, in action and in thought; and in this supreme age we find many sad things and many discouraging things. In this analytic time, the thinker applies the cruel dissecting knife to himself, and touches the universe at no point but he draws the life-blood. Nevertheless, progress is verifiable. We have been passing through a critical and destructive period, social, industrial, and scientific, to arrive at a great constructive age. The early man, in even greater degree than the present savage, had inherited from nature certain instincts and a crude knowledge which fitted him admirably to his simple environment. If his life was that of the beast, he had the instinct of the beast for his protection. Both the ancient savage and the crude man of today rely safely, in the main, upon their reasonless instincts. A low order of life, which trusts to and follows Nature, is to that extent healthy. But modern man may not be content with this infirm and narrow life.

The mission of man is not to submit to Nature, but to master her. He must emerge from the state of nature into civilization. But between the two there is dangerous ground. In the higher order of life, reason takes the place of instinct, but the instincts are apt to lose their force before the reason is fully trained to do their work better or as well. The savage had a keenness of sense, especially in hearing, that gave him a great advantage over the white man in certain features of war-making, until the latter invented the spyglass and the telegraph. "Artificial and conventional have taken the place of natural advantages as the ruling and deciding force," and in "that artificial life which we call civilization," it is by recourse to the arts of life that we live. Throughout, "God balances the new evils peculiar to human life by infinitely greater weights in the scale of the good which is also peculiar to human life."

Emergence into Civilization

This is the characteristic of a transition period. Man has been educated out of his instincts, and reason has not yet its full application. He is as a sailing vessel stripped of sails and made into a steamer, with no one on board who knows fully how to manage

Twilight Times

the new mechanism. Mankind is between lights, and twilight is the most difficult light for the eyes. We are not quite out of the dark ages. Man has earned his way to the new light, but in acquiring its privileges, its responsibilities at first sight stagger him. He is in the dangerous domain of half-knowledge, like the amateur student of medicine who knows symptoms but not remedies, and torments his imagination with hosts of diseases which he has no power to cure. It is a real difficulty, and unfortunately the seamy side is most seen by those within the problem. When the spinning-jenny was invented in England the cotton spinners rose in revolt; how should they know that it would presently give them two loaves of bread where before they had one or none. Again, the newspaper, that great organ of progress, has its bad side in spreading the inflaming details of crime and the infection of commercial panic; yet even the light compels betterment, though it brings to sight the things of evil.

Progress into full Knowledge

The progress of man is therefore from a crude, reasonless, but effective practice, an inheritance of his animal nature, through half-knowledge and groping analysis, into full knowledge and the application of science.

The crude endowments of nature are analyzed by science, and the vital element educed for more economical use. Thus even "old wives' fables" and nostrums are being turned to account: the old empirics used seaweed for certain diseases; modern science finds therein the potash which was its remedial element, and gives it in less wasteful form.

The One-law

These several lines of thought conjoin and culminate in seeking and finding that central thought which marks and moulds the age. It is the thought that, alike in space and in time, in the material, the moral, the spiritual world, the atom is bound to every other atom by a one-law which pervades the universe, which is the soul of all things. "No man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." Nature, still more civilization, means not that men should be independent of each other, but vastly interdependent, in an infinity of relations.

The free Path

Science speaks thus with no uncertain voice, to the listening and reverent ear. Man makes pro-gress, forward, but in the wave line, with real or seeming retro-gressions. It is by a free path that the atom obeys law: as the drops of water, making up

the fluent and fluid seas, tossed at the surface into changing waves by the law of the winds, obey in the great currents the laws of heat, in the greater tides the attraction of the moon, and through their steadfast depths that greatest law of gravitation which binds them together in the eternal ocean. Thus the central and centrifugal forces, many yet one, balance each other, in physics and in morals, to keep each atom, though in free motion, in its proper place, in an interdependence which in morals means a responsibility of each for all. Each atom counts, everywhere, forever. There can be no contradictions — between laws, or between law and fact: the law and the fact confirm, conform to, are part of, each other. Natural laws are universal, immutable, — "thou canst not" as well as "thou shalt not." The law of death is part of the larger law of life, using what we know as evil as the corrective, the purgative, which by selective development prepares the best to survive. So science teaches us to build on the past, in the present, for the future — to be reverent, to be content, to do our duty, to have faith.

The balancing Forces

Thus, in these modern days, science, though too often unheeded, calls to us, in our

individual lives, to come up higher, to make life an art. Arrived at a great age, we are called to make ourselves great in accord with it. Science sets the man of to-day in the center of this world, as the culmination of the forces of Nature, as the product of all the historic forces, and tells him that the known earth, animate and inanimate, is subject unto him, that at last he modifies the world more than the world modifies him. It tells him also that there is no effect without cause, and no cause without effect; that each individual human life must be infinitely effective; and that each life can be developed in fullest fruition only by conscious art founded upon intelligent science. The large forces and the little are the same. First principles are final principles. Man is come into a high place, to which all roads of the past converge; before him all roads of the future open forth. All the kingdoms of the earth are before him. He must choose. His choice is the result of his character. His character should be the result of art.

The Call of Science

Throughout all this we recognize that a human life is a product, and the highest of products, an art-work. Art presupposes faculty and facility, the original gift and the

Faculty and Facility

purposed training. For the gift we are not responsible, for its training we are. In this last, we make choice of means, as the artist must. This art, like others, is founded on science, on knowledge. Science underlies the art of living and the arts of life, as it underlies all art. And to cultivate life as an art, we must cultivate the arts of life. First of all is the duty of health — wholeness of body. This presupposes mind-health and will-health, saneness of mind and rightness of morals. That is our affair — and the physician should be but the interpreter for us of the laws of nature; the watchman who guards health, not the detective who cries "stop thief," when it is gone; whose business is to prevent disease rather than to cure it. To this end is the art of education, by which also the mind is stocked with knowledges and trained in methods for its command of life; and the teacher should be the guide to show the paths to the mountain tops, as those who have gone before have blazed them. Then the art of business, of earning a living, of applying to the affairs of every day the best equipment that can be had for it, of making business itself the roadway to higher arts of life, not the end of the path in a drainage bog. Then the art of

The Life Arts

government, the care of men in their larger relations as the state. Above all, the art of religion, the art of making the human divine. All these find their fruition in personal character and in social life, in the home, the family, society, where love lightens duty while knowledge guides it, where conversation becomes an art and an uplifting, where a man is refreshed and recreated by converse with his fellow men.

A new Sanction in Ethics

The vital progress of man has yet to come up to the progress of his intellectual and material environment, and his inspiration is found in an ethical teaching of science the most positive which man has yet discovered for himself. The idea of the infinity of influence and eternity of duration of the effects of infinitely small cause gives a most awful yet inspiring meaning to human responsibility, and if not new is announced by science with such startling emphasis that it becomes virtually a new sanction of ethics. We are taught that every breath alters the relations of the universe forever, and this physical parable, interpreted into ethics and made practical in life, makes each man infinitely responsible for every moment, thought, word

and act of his life. Each man is a trustee for the race, and he carries within himself the sure reward or penalty.

Form temporary, Influence eternal

In this vast evolution, all organism, of matter or of mind, is a sequence of changes. The form is temporary, the influence eternal. The cell dies, but direction survives. Man is a bundle of pasts, consciously making the future, — the sum of all the ages, the fount of the far future. Thus science supplies a sanction and a safeguard, in this thought of the eternity of influence, more weighty than all the awful Calvinism of an Edwards. It is the greatest sanction, to morals and right being, for earth and heaven, possible to be put before men. It is the voice of a logical God. The thought is terrible, were its responsibility not tempered by the opportunity it presents.

Sanction and Safeguard

A sanction and a safeguard, both. For men require both. In that righting book which has done so much for progress, "The Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith emphasizes the fear of the workman of losing work as the chief motive for doing work well; in that illuminating book, "Unto this Last," curious in its misapplications of high truth, Ruskin characterizes this opinion as illustrat-

ing "the most entirely damned state of soul possible to man," opposing to this safeguard the sanction of honest motive voiced in the word of Venice that "the merchant's law be just, his weights true, and his contracts guileless." They are not opposed: it is sanction that uplifts; it is safeguard that protects from falling,— as Nature herself hedges about the strongest of human passions with the great motive of love of family and the awful threat of physical penalty.

The Scheme of Science full Development

And the scheme of science looks to complete use of all the influences that make man and of all the powers that are in him—his full and harmonious development. He does best who observes all the laws of his system: the observance of the law of balance leads alike to the best production and the highest happiness. There must be differentiation of function, but this is not opposition; the head and the body, the brain and the muscles, are each the better off for the full health of the other. "To each his work," but to each as part of a great whole. And to each "life more abundantly."

Abnormal Function

We have found, indeed, often, that an abnormal development of individual function has been associated with intensity of action;

the brilliant, short life of high plane contrasted with the steady, lasting life of low plane. But science again denies that "with higher average of life" is necessarily associated "lower average of health." Her voice is that the part is better in the health of the whole; that wholeness is health. The high peak of the mountain needs broad base on the earth. There is Elizabeth Barrett; but there is also Robert Browning. And above all, there is Shakespeare.

"The Future — and Faith!"

The call to men of this age, then, is to combat the difficulty that the scientific idea is so far only intellectually, not livingly, apprehended. The thought is not yet in our blood; it has yet to rule our life. But this, also, is a part of progress. It is for the leaders, leading, to bring about the intellectually wrought conversion of the passing generation, that the coming generation may be born in the light and trained in grace. The great aim should be to bring the race up to that intellectual and spiritual strength in which truth is sufficient unto itself, that the individual man, putting aside humbly the mysteries that defy solution, content him with doing his duty in faith, God's law unto himself. The idea of science is alike selfish

and altruistic, for in right living is the highest personal happiness and the fair promise of the noblest result in the far future. Satisfied with real things, not with sham; taking character as the highest good because, also, it is most productive of good; seeking the greatest life for the most men — the present lives also for the future, and to the Sphinx of civilization Science gives answer: "The future — and faith!"

OF EDUCATION

OF EDUCATION

THE first of the arts of life is education, the leading forth of the human faculties, in the child, the youth, the man, as Nature makes ready. As Nature evolves, man should educate. Education must be in even step with evolution. In leading the child we must follow Nature. When Miss Sullivan, whose own sealed eyes had been opened to the light, was sent to open the sealed soul of Helen Keller, after she had studied all Dr. Howe had told of Laura Bridgman, Mr. Anagnos asked, in test of her, how she would teach the child. "I do not know," she said; "I will let the child teach me." She had proved her fitness, for she voiced the watchword of true education. In teaching the child, we must learn from Nature, from child-nature. Thus the human atom is fitted into its place in the great universe. Looking forward to the successive stages of development, the experience of parents, or teachers, should become pre-vision and pro-vision for the children. It is thus the race climbs, as each generation rises one step higher on the accumulations of past ex-

Education and Evolution

perience. If it does not rise, it falls; and so nations decline, and fall, and are blotted out.

Experience stored for the Child

In the beginning the child has no personal responsibility; its birth follows the birth of the babe at a considerable distance. It is only well toward maturity that this becomes complete: indeed it is a prime purpose and test of education to produce personal responsibility. But education begins with birth, nay before birth. The highest product, man, is slowest in pre-natal development and in shifting for itself after birth. Thus the experience gained by the parents is stored in the child, to an extent broadly dividing man from his fellow animals. Nature is here a banker, and advances to each generation the parental care it is expected to pay back through the generation succeeding.

The Duty of Parentage

The first duty of parentage, thus, is of educating self to educate the child; and this must properly begin before the birth of the child, that the infant, the unknowing, may be met with knowledge. When a fern comes from the ground, it appears as a queer little wad, which presently unfolds and unrolls according to the laws of fern-kind into full

frondage, as the gardener fore-knows it will do, but as few others could foresee. The child has a like development, according to the laws of humankind, which it is the business of the parent to fore-know. These laws can be learned, and the dim and partial knowledge of instinct or of half-remembered experience is by no means a substitute to excuse the parent from the responsibility of intelligent study.

Fatherhood

For here, even as elsewhere, Nature may not distinguish between ignorance and crime. The laws of life are, above all, inexorable. The inevitable doom for their transgression is hard — alike whether it be innocent or purposed. Of all relations, that whose consequences are visited, for good or ill, unto the third and fourth generation, — nay, throughout all generations to come, — is least foreknown. The man scarcely faces fatherhood as a conscious end. As a college boy, no training is too costly, no self-denial too difficult, no studious care and temperance of body too hard, through weeks, months, and years, for the winning of the race whose immediate outcome is but the triumph of a day. But when he enters the lists of a man's responsibilities, intoxicate with love, or choosing in

colder motive the fulfiller of life, he gives to marriage no such care of knowledge, or of training, or of foreseeing, in body or in mind, and he perchance foredooms her who is dearest to him and those who shall be nearest to him, of his flesh and his blood, to defeat and shadow and despair in that race of life which he has lost for them before it is begun. The wife, indeed, consciously faces motherhood, in the sweet prophecy of the little life which she enfolds, yet, too late, she also finds herself unknowing, unprepared. In this great mystery of the tenderest, the holiest, the most far-reaching of all the relations of life, the relation between the youth who is to be father and the maiden who is to be mother, our modern teaching and all our loving care have so far failed to find how, without rending the veil of modesty and mystery, to give to these two, with each other, the fore-knowing which we provide in our stock-raising for the brute beasts or which Nature implants in them as instinct. But to this need, which science, with its doctrines of heredity, more and more emphasizes, the answer will come as the need is fully seen.

Motherhood

Those are among the greatest benefactors

of the race, who, from Pestalozzi, with his divinings and his so human mistakes, and Froebel, with his noble devotion, have labored to teach the teachers this first of the arts of life, by investigating what these laws of development are. These are the Columbus, the Galileo, the Newton, the Luther, of the child's world; Protestants for childhood, they have prepared and preached a Reformation in which, here also, Nature, freedom, individuality, are vindicated. For there have been terrible mistakes. Nature tells the child to touch, to observe, to test, to ask questions, to imitate; but a belittled Pope bulled and bullied in the household. It was "*don't* touch;" "do as Papa or Mamma (or more ignorant nurse) says, and don't ask Why;" "keep quiet;" "little folks should be seen and not heard;" and for imitation what example could be worse than the fallible frailty of brutal Infallibility? The child's Why, that divining-rod which is Nature's gift to the little explorer, brought no answering spring of living water from the parental rock. "Because," was a finality, and crushed the childish mind. And when to this chill frost upon the wee, outreaching, tender plant, there was added the scarce lesser wrong of revers-

The Reformation in Education

ing Nature's order, of teaching the science before the art, grammar before speech, it was only because Nature is strong and well intrenched, that children learned despite their teachers. That within the passing generation we have come to see our mistakes, to inquire of Nature, to follow her better way, is perhaps that for which the future should be, and will be, most thankful to us. The great advance that has been made may best be seen by using as the milepost on the path of progress that most useful of teachers of a generation ago, Herbert Spencer's "Education," which teaches us also how much we have yet to learn and to do.

The Human Tri-unity.

The end of education is to make a whole man, full-rounded, in soul, in mind, in body. Health, wholeness, holiness, are from the same root, in fact as in word. The hale or whole man, *integer vitae*, is the man of physical perfectness, of moral and spiritual fulfillment, of intellectual completeness. A sound body is a first need, because the higher must build and have basis on the lower. A sense of right, of the moral order, is the next need, as the guide of life. Intellectual development is the complement of these.

The ship must have sound hull and right ballast, true compass and straight rudder, if it is to take cargo and bring it to port. A true education regards this human tri-unity and interweaves these several strands in the loom of life. Thus it equips the man and develops character.

A sound Body

If, thus, the ideal and aim of humanity is fullness of life, a first care must be for a sound body. "To be a good animal" — this is the safest foundation for good morals and good mind. He is most a man who has the greatest quantity and best quality of life for the longest time, who has most life throughout most years. To lose years by too early death, or months by induced disease, or weeks by invited illness, or hours by distracting pain, and to lose money (alas, to most men a more marketable motive!) by the positive methods of long doctor's bills or the negative methods of enforced idleness — all such forfeiture of life is indeed too often sins of the parents visited upon the children, sins of careless omission and brutish ignorance and even reckless defiance of known law that are no less crimes because statute law cannot reach them. Alas, that the innocent must

suffer! For Nature heals, but she cannot forgive. Yet through this suffering unmerited, merited punishment comes at last to the guilty also, in sad harvest of misery and of sorrow and of loss. Physical education is thus the *sine qua non* before moral and before intellectual education; and the parent must set himself to know the laws of animal life and of its environment, in which last such miserable pettinesses as plumbing are, sad to say, not safely to be passed by.

The Physical Duty of Health

Indeed, as a question of morals, a first duty is the physical duty of health. "Health is the religion of the body." "Breaches of the laws of health are physical sins." The modern view of health is wholesomeness. The old truth, *sana mens sano corpore*, we now read more widely and wisely: *Sana mens, sanum corpus.* A sound body is quite as much, if not more, conditioned in a sound mind, as a sound mind upon a sound body. A right discipline of mind, a wholesome mental attitude, often forestalls bodily ills and, in a sense, prevents pain. The mind controls a machine in which it lives, called the body. "While this machine is to him," man lives. It is his business, his duty, to preserve this machine in working order. If

it stops, his mortal life is ended. If some parts break, or rot, or wear, his body is crippled; if other parts, his mind is obscured, loses control, is "lost." This body, like all flesh, has in it the possibilities of decay, and "germs" innumerable and forces manifold menace it from within and from without.

The Defense of the Body

To the diseased mind, studying disease, it seems rather hopeless to try to live. A retired physician, in the morbidity of idleness, occupied himself by "having diseases." But to the sane mind, whole, wholesome, holy, it is the principle of life that conquers. The single and sufficing security against disease germs is in the vital soundness, or wholeness, which resists their attack in advance, — like an alert garrison in a strong fort, whose well-defended walls an enemy can neither scale nor shatter. Vitality resists, survives; death is swallowed up in victory of life. Life re-sur-rects itself, rights itself again over all. The wise machinist's care is to prevent his machine from breaking, rather than to repair it after breaking. Regimen, the rule of good, is better than remedy, the cure of ill. Drugs are but repair makeshifts; the wise physician, the master-ma-

chinist of the body, sets himself to keep the body whole.

Health not learned from Disease

The good engineer is he whose engine is least out of service and who has least cost of repairs, because he fore-sees, provides against strain by looking to his fuel, water, oil, and keeping his machinery in running order. And this he does not do by studying broken-down engines and developing a morbid fear of accident: he must simply know weak points, curves and crossings, "look out" and "take care." So health is not learned, by child or adult, from disease, by introspective study of morbid conditions, but from the laws of life, by outlook and care-taking. We need to know the human machine as the engineer knows his engine, to provide against strain by looking to our food, regimen, and storage of vitality: but the studies of anatomy and physiology should give confidence in life-power, not fear of death. The true physician is an apostle of life, a minister to the mind, a physician of the soul — with the cheerful presence that brings life and light and not discouragement and gloom. In epidemic the dauntless mind keeps the body sane, and escapes contagion. The heat of fever is overcome by coolness of

mind. Courage conquers in the face of death. An Arab tradition tells that where plague kills one, fear kills ten.

Brave Mother makes brave Child

The like is true even with the tottling child. A child is naturally happy, in body as in mind. Its little bodily troubles pass by as fleeting clouds, if over-anxiety does not emphasize them to the mind. It tries to walk: it falls. The wise mother, brave and not fearful, takes this as matter-of-course: so, then, does the child. Up, with a smile, even if it hurts a bit — and try it again! That is Nature's way of teaching to walk — there is nothing to cry about! The unwise mother, over-anxious, catching the weakling to her arms, concentrates its attention upon the hurt, congesting the blood there by the mental act, invents or magnifies for the child sense of fear and pain, and so thwarts provident Nature. Thus, the "cry-baby!" Brave mother makes brave child, and it is the fearless who conquers. Achilles, Arthur, Siegfried, Parsifal, the fearless, the guileless, can be conquered only by guile or by their own sin.

And Nature means us to be healthy — whole of body. The head of a babies' hospital witnesses that most children are born well.

Nature means us to be healthy

The apple bloom is always sweet, though the tree be gnarled. Despite ills of heredity and distortions from pre-natal life, infants have commonly a working capital of life and health. Nature does her best to give each of her children a fair chance. It is by ill treatment that they are made ill. It is ignorance, or carelessness, or viciousness, that fore-dooms so many to early death, or to death-in-life, — the lack of knowledge, or of thought, or of love. It is too often by the parent that the seeds of death are sown. Swathed and pinned, jounced and churned, the wee folk are denied the free and quiet development of Nature. And as their bodies are pinched, so are their tempers thwarted by ignorant parents. Nature indeed teaches the infant to do valiant battle for life, and often it succeeds and survives against all disadvantage. But what waste of life we might and should avoid! It is not possible to all to dower their children with the best conditions of life, — alas, ignorance or poverty forbids! — but what shall be said of those who, having before them all possibilities, give instead of bread a stone — those mothers and fathers in homes of education, of wealth, of ease, who, careless of the lives given to their care,

Sowing Seeds of Death

bring upon them, too late for cure, the curse of broken law?

Happy the child to whom a fair start in life is given, by wise parents and wise teachers — for whom the call of nature for food is met in even regularity, making abstinence and long waiting more possible in adult life when stress comes, with the sufficient, nutritious, and varied diet nature demands for the growing body; for whom fit clothing, ruled not by foolish fashion but by natural sense, supplies protection and warmth, so that food, needed for growth, is not wasted for mere heating of the body; for whom warm housing, in its turn, saves waste and harmful exposure, while open-air outing, pleasurable exercise, and natural sport give to the body, and later to the mind, what we rightly call free play. As the child becomes youth these habits of childhood make self-reliance more easy, and give the right trend for adult life. Thus it is made ready to master, unfearing but cautious, its physical self and the physical forces of external nature, — water, in swimming and rowing; animals, in riding and driving; weapons, in eye-and-hand practice; mechanical forces, in the wheel and the ball. This physical training is in itself moral discipline,

Physical Development

as is all rightness, the evident answer of effect to cause.

Moral Education

The moral education of infancy and childhood is still more a matter of parental responsibility, a more difficult matter also because it demands not only knowledge but virtue, and that most difficult of virtues, self-restraint. The child adopts the motives of its elders, and its ethics are the ethics of home exemplars. And nowhere is that fine law of Nature, that demand creates supply, more finely illustrated: in many a household "a little child shall lead them," its elders, into what we accurately call exemplary conduct. The parent is the god of the child. From father and mother, by imitation, it gets its first standards of conduct, its first motives of ethics, its first religion. Whether we will or no, the child has its direction given it at the start by its parents, as the rifle gives aim to the bullet. Injustice to a child is the most cruel of wrongs. The revolt in a child's heart when wrong is done it, when it is punished for what it did not mean to be wrong, or for what it did not do, or because the parent is out of temper, warps its being, and gives it the first impulse of rebellion against

law, against Nature, against God. Nay, this does worse; for it confuses the very idea of law, confounding it with brute force and causeless will. The parental responsibility for physical and moral education therefore cannot be evaded by the parent, or delegated to the Genius of Ignorance in however neat a white cap, or even to the most just and skilled of teachers. The parent cannot shirk this duty, for it is the foundation duty of parenthood. Likewise in the nurse and in the teacher, character is the first requisite. As a little child catches a brogue from a nurse while it learns to talk, so it will catch character, and develop in love or in hate. The teacher of morals must himself be the exemplar of justice.

The true moral education goes back of the Mosaic Decalogue, "Thou shalt not," to Nature's One-Law, sterner yet more kindly, "Thou canst not." It is for the child to learn, by reiterated experience, — as that fire burns, that a mother's word is kept, that edge-tools cut, that a lie hurts, — that effect follows cause, that transgression involves retribution, that law rules. The universe is morally ordered, under the rule of law. This is the first principle of moral education.

"Thou canst not"

Every school must be a school of law and every teacher a lawgiver.

Nature is relentless

Nature is relentless, and awards sure penalty for broken law. This also the child must learn, in practice rather than by precept. The one thought of parental discipline should be, not punishment, but cor-rection, righting the child. All penalty should be the logical and necessary result of the child's act; if it willfully breaks a toy, it loses the use of that toy and of other toys that it might break; if it is rude to playmate or mother, it must suffer for the time the loss of companionship — and so on, through the calendar of child-crimes. The one aim of moral education should be to produce self-government in accord with natural law.

The Law of Righteousness

The child, just at home, just in play, just at school, becomes the just man, recognizing and regarding Law. As the great law of justness, of righteousness, is learned by its children, a nation becomes stanch and strong and great, for all history teaches that the rise and the fall of nations result from conditions — of simple and steadfast virtue at the beginning, of luxurious unmorality or immorality at the end — that are above all moral conditions. Names mean little. A na-

tion is not Christian unless its citizens are in deed followers of the Christ. A nation is not moral unless its citizens recognize cause and effect, right and wrong, in private and in public affairs. If our churches teach our boys to play at war, and our ministers condone unrighteousness; if our economists preach that trade is war and that each nation is in commerce the enemy of each other; if our workingmen teach that a man must surrender his moral judgment or be denied work as an enemy, — we may prate peace, but war comes. And through the home, the school, the church, the state, all teaching must be based on the fact that health of body, rightness of soul, are the physical and moral foundation on which true living must rest, and without which mere truth of intellect is of no avail. For education must above all teach how to *live*, in wholeness of life, and it is on such education that a democracy must rest and a republic endure.

The Interweaving of Education

We speak of physical, intellectual, moral education; but from the beginning Nature develops each in an interweaving of all. Nature has no sharp lines: she does not separate landscapes, classes, knowledges, —

she merges one into another. Thus physical, moral, intellectual education go hand in hand. The physical education of the sense-organs is the start of intellectual, as well as of moral education. Of itself the child learns motion — to use its limbs, to balance its body, to creep, to stand, to walk, to climb. The child, like all animals, is inquisitive. It puts things in its mouth and to its nose; it touches what is within reach of the hand; it is interested to see and hear what is within range of eye and ear. Thus it learns for itself tastes, smells, forms, sounds — in a word, facts. These facts it puts together, compares — and at once sense-observation is supplemented by thought-observation. With comparison thinking begins. That which yields to the hand, that which does not; that which is within reach of the hand, that which is not; that which shines to the eye, that which does not — give thoughts of hard and soft, near and far, light and shade. Qualities are distinguished. The object present is compared with the object past. With association, memory begins. Here already are the rudiments of intellectual education. The child also, like many animals, is imitative. It seeks to match with the voice what it hears with the

Thinking begins

ear. Thus it learns speech and learns song, as art, not as science. It delights in pictures and forms, and likes to make them, and thus begins to learn drawing and modeling. It counts and arranges objects, and thus mathematics and classification begin. Meantime, the child learns, naturally, — that is by process of nature, — other kinds of lessons. By sour tastes, noxious smells, the burn of a fire, the hurt of a fall, Nature gives warning, and tells it to avoid ill, to respect gravitation. From the persistent relation and succession of facts, the notions of fitness and unfitness, cause and effect, right and wrong, begin. Here again are the very rudiments of moral education. All this is Nature's doing — she does this for the infant savage, indeed she does much of it for the infant animal.

A wise Teaching saves Waste

But Nature, always prodigal, does this at unnecessary cost and waste. A wise teaching saves and safeguards. It puts the world-experience of the race at the service of the newcomer. It is not well that a child should be burned by the fire or bruised by a fall; this is costly and wasteful. Moreover the senses must be righted. The child sees the trees tossing in the wind, and thinks the trees churn the wind; the savage sees the sun

obscured by a cloud or by eclipse, and thinks the cloud or an unseen demon has devoured it; the ancients saw the sun set, and thought it sank in the ocean and went under the earth; the moderns still see the earth as the great center of the heavens, surrounded by shining points of light. The larger vision, the wider experience, must correct these natural errors of the uneducated senses. Also, there are two sides of the objects and forces of nature. Water cleanses and solves for us; fire warms us and cooks our food; gravitation holds all things together. Yet water drowns; fire burns; gravitation crushes. The ministrants of life become the ministers of death. To safeguard against ill, to utilize the good, without cruel experience, is also an achievement of teaching.

Intellectual Education

As we face intellectual education, several questions as to the purposes, methods, and results of "schooling" at once confront us. Is there in the child's mind an order in which the faculties develop? Should all children then be taught the same things in the same order or should each child come to its own in its own way? Should education equip the child with knowledge, that is, facts, or with

discipline, that is, training? Is there an order in which knowledges have worth, and does this order correspond to the development of faculties? Is the educated man after all better equipped for actual life than the "self-made man"? All these questions converge to a single focus and have one answer, if we can answer the all-embracing question, "What is true education?" For a true education is in fact that which, keeping pace with the general order of development of the child-mind, answers the need of each child, by giving facts in their true relations, knowledge disciplined into wisdom, in the order in which knowledges are of most worth, and thus affording all, and more than, the advantages of the self-made man, without waste and loss.

The Faculties come of Age

At the age of maturity, Nature notifies by certain external signs that sexuality, hitherto passive, has become active. None the less the several faculties, intellectual as well as physical and moral, have their times when they come of age. Nature provides for development of the child in due order, and a true education follows Nature's order. To blunt Nature's keenness, and to thwart her methods, — as to teach grammar before lan-

guage, — is the greatest mistake possible to education and "civilization," the sin against the holy spirit of child-life. We find that faculties develop in the child-mind in due order, an order uniform in succession though not parallel in time, and of consistent and rational evolution, in the case of every child, not bereft of its complement of senses and faculties, born into the world. The child asks in succession "What?" "How?" "Why?" — the question of fact, the question of relation, the question of cause. None of us indeed live long enough to know all the "What?" but it is not long before the child begins to ask "How?" and to learn of method and relation. At last it asks "Why?" and begins to learn of cause. "What *is* it?" "What is it like?" "What made it?" are the child's touchstones. The basis of intellectual education is, in this sense also, physical education: the senses, not the reason, are first called upon; the first requisite is that the child shall see, hear, touch, taste, smell, *i. e.*, observe truly. This truth of sense-observation, in itself a moral education, becomes in due course accuracy of thought-observation, in obtaining and coördinating the *data* for sound judgment, — so that the early need of

What, How, Why?

the child is also the final need of the man of large affairs, in business organization or in concerns of state.

The child, like the man, needs facts first. Facts are the food, the fuel of the mind. The engine must carry its store of coal, of water, of oil: otherwise its direction is of no avail. A wise teaching selects facts, supplies more facts, and puts them in proper relation. These facts, the child compares, by likeness and difference, associates, assimilates, organizes — until in this very setting forth of related facts in due order, the mind is trained to reproduce them in like related order as material for new judgments. The "meaning" of facts becomes evident. In due course the senses are supplemented by "instruments:" the eye is trained to keen distinctions of color and tint by help of prism and color-films, the ear by tuning-fork and water-glasses. Facts are put together and taken apart: analysis and synthesis prove each other. In this way, facts are not dumped into the brain as a heap of rubbish — nor is the child required to swallow dictionary or directory, to clutter the brain-chambers with useless knowledge, as names of forgotten kings, days of battles, numbers of troops.

The storing of Facts

To the mind as to the body, that food should be supplied which can be properly digested.

Learning by Association

Nature invites this method of learning by association — it is her method. The domain of knowledge, the kingdom of Nature, is an organized kingdom — ordered, coördinated: not, as childhood used to be taught, a scrap-heap of facts. One thing not only follows another, but follows from another. Beasts, birds, fishes, and plants, sounds and colors, have correlations within and across their kingdoms; the mental process of organization finds correspondence in nature. The child no longer need learn a hundred names of fishes, a hundred of birds, a hundred of beasts, as isolated facts; it can be taught, in half the time, how the fish, developing after its kind into many kinds, in likeness and unlikeness, develops presently into the bird, and this into the beast, the mammalia, man; and as the learning mind itself develops into adult life, it is brought face to face with that wonderful and culminating fact in biology, that each human life in its pre-natal history follows the same order. Thus knowledge is taught by that principle of association which is the primal law of memory. To fit a newly seen bird or plant into its place is to know it

better than by name. As, in the words of Agassiz and Goode, a great museum is a collection of labels illustrated by specimens, so a well-educated intelligence is a collection of mental relations illustrated by individual facts. Thus, though knowledges increase, mastery of them is easier, because the key of the treasure-house is one key, not many keys. Classification is the labor-saving tool of the mind. Thus knowledge of facts becomes disciplined into wisdom, *good* sense. And the pupil of to-day learns more, in less time, with half labor, than the child of the generation addressed by Herbert Spencer's book on "Education."

Memory like a great Library

In the memory-chambers of the brain, the senses in fact store impressions, one by one, until these senso-graphs rival the collections of a great library, gallery, and museum. Each collection starts with a few things. As books begin to come into a library, they may be put upon the shelves as they happen to come. But presently, as more come, there must be arrangement — the librarian can no longer put his hand upon each book separately. If he has had no library education, he may put together all the books whose titles begin with "A," "An," or "The." Or, he may try a

more sensible alphabetizing by titles, without these meaningless tags. Or, he may arrange his books according to the names of authors. But, if he is to have a real working-library — one where people come not to "get a book" but to get knowledge — he finds he must have a classification by subjects, either directly on his shelves, or indirectly in a subject-catalogue. Each subject becomes at last a special library. Soon the librarian finds that some books are out-of-date and seldom called for. These he puts on less accessible shelves, and brings to the front the "live" books, to be of easy access to the seeker. Last year's newspaper, the ephemeral book, is stowed away out of sight and "out of mind." Collection becomes but a means for selection. At last, the great library, recognizing that it can never be complete, supplements itself by knowledge of other libraries, through catalogues, bibliographies, indexes, — and its final triumph, in the "evaluation" of books, is to produce at once the best book of its subject, or to tell where it can be had.

Classification

So in a well-ordered mind, the senses store *data*, arranged by the method of association in a subject-classification, and these can be called for at will, combined and applied to

practical use. The brain is closely analogous to a photographer's store-room, connected with a telephone "central." We know almost nothing of the physical nature of the brain senso-graphs, nor do we know the limits of brain-capacity to receive and store such impressions. The phrenologists assign specific parts of the brain as the seat of specific functions, and physiologists locate the nerve-centres of the several senses; but of the real records in brain-cells, we are and may always be ignorant. But we know that observation and memory differ with individuals, with ages, with specialization, above all with the training that educes habit. One sees and memorizes much; another little. The child-mind is of clear plates, sensitized by heredity for this or that kind of impression; the matured mind takes and gives, washes out, re-sensitizes; the aged mind seems sometimes to lose control, and faded plates, long since forgotten in the back store-rooms, come out unbidden. One person observes and remembers faces; another names; some both. There is a natural selection: we remember only for a day or a week what we had for breakfast or dinner, but for years a face, a voice, an odor, a kindling thought, a key-fact.

The Brain a Telephone "Central" and Photograph Store-room

The memory becomes trained to forget some things, to remember others. Education should exercise this perspective, in the cultivation of habit. The eye, the ear, the inward sense, need to be trained to note, to consider, to record, worthily. There should be intentional differentiation between observing and remembering. The modern newspaper makes the mistake of attempting record of all the pettinesses of a day — an impossible and worthless task. The modern education must see and shun this serious error. Selection, not collection, should be its aim.

Individuality of Children

And in true education each life must be trained after its own pattern. Each child has the right to be treated as itself, by parent and by teacher. The farmer does not treat alike potatoes, corn, wheat; sheep, cow, horse. The gardener will not bed together, nor treat alike, his roses, his lilies, his orchids — nor will he treat alike one kind of rose and another. Each must be nurtured after its kind. But human seedlings do not come to us ready-labeled, like pots from the florist; each life must be studied, to know the needs of its own character. Nature divines for us. In the light of general laws, the law of each child's life — temperament,

tastes, capacities, trend — must be separately discerned and studied. No two children, born of the same parents, are the same, or even alike, and this unlikeness is even more marked in the school than in the family. And throughout all education this unlikeness in likeness must be kept in mind by the teacher, in leading forth the faculties of the taught. All teaching should be individual in its personal application, though in its purpose the same. While children of the same age study the same subject, as a part of general education, each must do his part in his own way. This the wise teacher, e-ducating, recognizes. The "grade" system needs to be tempered to individual temperaments. Instead of putting into one class the boy of ten who is eight years old for arithmetic and twelve years old for spelling, and the boy of ten who is eight for spelling and twelve for arithmetic, a "class" for arithmetic, by due arrangement of hours, should include those of certain advancement in that study, whatever their mere age, and the grade certificate should be given for each study and not by an impossible average which ignores differences. To reduce a class to physical uniformity by cutting the feet off tall boys

Teaching should be individual

and making them foot-stools for the short ones, would not be good practice. Natural selection should here also be recognized and emphasized; and "over-education," that is, mis-directed education, prevented. It is not wise to try to grow a lily from a rose, nor a rose from a lily.

The Order of Needs

Self-preservation "is the first law of nature," and next in order of need is self-maintenance, "earning a living." As the family precedes and is the unit of the neighborhood and the state, preparation for parentage, rearing a family, should be assured before that for citizenship, the communal and political relation. In some measure Nature provides for all these in the instincts of the animal kingdom. Last, and peculiar to man, comes æsthetic development, for the gratification of individual tastes. This, Spencer shows, is the order in which knowledges are of most worth, an order which schooling should regard in developing the child into the man. And this is likewise the order of a natural education, an education following Nature and developing according to her laws.

For the instincts of Nature, fulfilled by

a wise physical training, provide first for the preservation of life and health; and for the occupations of the great body of mankind, "manual training," the development of bodily strength and skill, of the eye, the hand, the physical powers, is now requisite; and all this is physical or sense-education. Moral education must of course pervade all, but it is of paramount necessity in the relations of parentage and citizenship, the home and the state, in which the sense of right, moral development, should be supreme. And intellectual education, the storing and training of the mind, beginning in the first relations with elementary knowledge of natural facts, and with the simpler processes by which art supplements nature, as drawing, writing, reading, measuring, figuring, — becomes of increasing importance in the later relations, with physiology, biology, sociology, philology, history, politics, economics, psychology, philosophy; until, in final processes of culture, it teaches not only science but the fine arts which become personal "accomplishments" and gratifications. Thus a true education conforms in every respect with the several orders of development — within the child's mind, without in the requirements of life,

The Order of Education

answering to that evenness of supply and demand with which Nature always balances her books. It proceeds from the simple to the complex, from the near to the far, from the like to the unlike, from nature to art, in the true procedure of the universal law of development.

The Kindergarten

The basic education, of physical soundness, moral rightness, and intellectual trueness in perception of fact, is the field, after the mother's care, of the "child-garden." This supplements the care of parents, but can never supplant it. Here Nature's methods of play and of imitation are used as the royal road to learning. After the nursery comes thus the kindergarten, in which, in the sunshine of play, the human plant is to grow. The kindergartner sees in the child literally a plant that is to be brought to flower. All plants need light, warmth, air, water, soil — the kindergarten recognizes that the light of truth, the warmth of love, must come to the unfolding of the little life. The true purpose of the kindergarten is to put the child in touch with Nature; to let Nature take it by the hand and lead it forth, each little life after its own order of being or temperament; to encourage the small seeker after truth to

ask questions of Nature and listen to the answers for itself. It is at once a praise of the kindergarten and a criticism of the "graded school," that the too methodic teacher considers the child of the kindergarten too prone to ask questions, too individual, not readily "drilled," "uneasy under school rote." But, on the other hand, the kindergarten is not merely for play, or a place where the child is to "have its own way." It must, above all, learn Nature's way, kind but also just, sweet but also stern, by no means "go as you please." So, in the games patterning real life, in drawing, modeling, weaving, basketwork, in the song that tells its story or points its clear but unobtrusive moral, the child must be getting not only simple knowledge and simple skill, but that moral discipline caricatured in the makeshift of "drilling." As a "fad," without high purpose and sound method, the kindergarten is a caricature of education.

The Teaching of Play

That play is in itself natural education, and can be made the greatest of aids in teaching, is one of the most important discoveries in the history of educational development, — the great contribution of Froebel. Nature's indications are often given in the child's own choice of play, for true play patterns the real

affairs of life, with happy instinct, and gives a real education. The simplest games of children are well-nigh universal, found the world around, passing from one child-generation to another, without written record or purposed teaching, as the Vedic hymns or the epics of Homer were passed on in the childhood of the world. The ball, the top, the hoop, all are object-lessons in the properties of matter and the laws of motion, giving in happy play dexterity to hand and accuracy to eye, and laying the foundation for a later knowledge of the science of motion. The reins, the toy-wagon, the miniature boat or locomotive, are means of unconscious training. The boy's knife, the girl's scissors, the box of tools, are an introduction to practical mechanics. The doll is a lesson in the altruism of motherhood. Presently the child begins to collect, and a collection of kinds of leaves, of woods, of insects, of feathers, of birds, of minerals, of postage-stamps, of coins, becomes to the keen parent, the alert teacher, a royal road to botany, to zoölogy, to geology, to geography, to history. Here, as elsewhere, Nature points the best way, and the easiest way. In choosing his play, the lad indicates the "calling" Nature gives

Toys

him. And if, by wise sympathy of parent and teacher, honor, fairness, kindness, manliness, are made part of the public opinion of children in play, "honor bound" and "no fair" become watchwords in life as well, and a solid foundation is laid for the civic virtues most needed in business and in the state.

"Primary Education"

The child who, in the kindergarten, has learned to use touch, sight, hearing, rightly; to speak carefully; to do simple handy work, as in modeling, drawing, and weaving; to play wholesomely, — has the first and best outfit for human life, though he has not yet learned his letters. For these are but the symbols needed to record his thoughts and his speech. Mankind thought and talked before it wrote and read; so also in the child — use, art, comes before rule, science. It is later in the years of training that the child-mind should attempt to master the artificial features necessary in education. To read, to spell, to write, are not natural endowments, but artificial acquirements. The child draws, makes pictures of objects, naturally; but the degenerate pictures now arbitrary letters, conventionally associated with sounds, have no longer relation with natural objects and

can be learned only "by rote." These letters mastered, the child applies them phonetically, but must be "corrected" backwards to the arbitrary idiosyncrasies of English orthoëpy and orthography. Of all tongues, English is perhaps the least logical, and its "rules" in grammar are in great part an effort to classify arbitrary and unrelated facts. Reading, writing, and spelling can indeed be learned in English, not in scientific analysis, but only as a hard-and-fast act of memory. Yet when the elements of orthoëpy and orthography are acquired, there is then a natural way of development in unison, as each learner in turn reads while others write and perforce spell. Grammar comes last of all. It may be that the typewriter and some form of phonography will find place in our schools; the Morse signs can be learned as play, and the phonetic symbols of Bell's "visible speech," the only alphabet logical and natural, give a remarkable discriminative power in hearing and recording language, even of unknown tongues. Likewise in the field of mathematics, arithmetic and algebra, both artificial forms of numerical expression, properly follow instead of preceding the more natural geometry.

Learning English

Each child should receive, in each period of schooling, "an all-round education," complete so far as it goes, so that no time or force has been lost or wasted when the child, at any age, is withdrawn from school to active or passive life. And the order of studies indicated by the order of evolution of faculties still proves the same as the order of comparative usefulness; development continues to answer to need. In any stage of civilization all need, first of all, to observe, to think, to talk; next, to read, to write, to measure, and to reckon. The child should be taught first the prime facts nearest home, in nature or in history, and as it learns to use tools — whether figures, words, or things — should master the simple before passing to the complex. The prime factors in every-day relations of adult life with Nature and with affairs, with other men and in personal conduct, America plans to give to every child, within the years of compulsory education. Statute law, making sure that the child of ignorant or heedless or selfish parents shall not lose the chance it can have only once in life, provides this primary education for all children, and "compels them to come in."

An Education complete so far as it goes

Now the human being has the tools of

The larger Knowledge

knowledge, so that it can work its way into larger knowledge. These avenues of elementary education lead forward and open upward for the fit student; and our free high schools and colleges should give to the youth who by proof of fitness earns the right of way, those opportunities for which he cannot yet pay except in promise of future service, but which if the door is not thus opened must be lost.

"Secondary Education"

Primary education is that of primary, of universal, importance. A less number of children are sure of the next advantage, secondary education, which is of secondary importance — the widening of the horizon of the individual mind by the teaching of facts outside the individual experience and therefore to be had only through books or lectures: the knowledge of other lands, physical and descriptive geography; of other times, history, not in dates and names, but of vital facts; of the wider facts of nature; of other languages. This is properly "common-school education," and most if not all children should have it, with the extension of that manual training which gives to the body parallel development of knowledge and discipline.

After this, and only after this, comes the "higher education," in high schools and colleges, which fewer children can have, for which many children have little capacity and little need, which consists largely in the analysis and generalization of facts into knowledge of the general underlying laws, the science underneath the art, as the rules of grammar and the equations of analytical mechanics. The higher studies, in which the larger generalizations marshal innumerable facts, otherwise useless in their isolation, into sequence and order, under the rule of the greater laws, afford the final discipline of the scholar. Key-facts, opening vast chambers of knowledges, are stored in the well-ordered mind; no one can ever master all the books in a great library, but the student becomes trained to know where and how to get what he wants. History, seen as sociology, in its great sweep of progress through the ages, has its mile-posts: we do not need to measure foot by foot. Biology, the study of life, has its great law of evolution: physics, the study of forces, has its great law of correlation and conversion; each of the great realms of thought is illumined by the light of greater law. This is still general educa-

"Higher Education"

tion, in which, while the individual temperament of the child or youth must be considered, in method and practice, the purpose of the teacher is to impart an all-round acquaintance with the general field of knowledge, so far as the pupil goes.

Specialized Education

Last of all, for the fit, should come the specialized education, the trade-school for the artisan, the art-school for the artist, the distinctive school in the university for the student aiming at a profession. The special must be built on the broad foundations of the general, both in knowledge and in training.

Elective Studies

With specialization, the principle of "election" of studies comes into play — and not before. The college, whether called academy or "university," has for its business, to teach as far as may be "something about everything," that the youth may be prepared to touch life on all sides and in any calling; the special school, in the university proper, to teach as fully as may be "everything about something," that the man may be specialized for his specific work in life. Thus, the college professor of chemistry teaches his subject as a part of general education, the typical facts and general laws which every one

should know, the merchant in dealing with products, the lawyer in dealing with cases, the preacher in dealing with analogies; the university professor of chemistry teaches his subject as a specialty, that his student may become a chemist or apply chemistry as a physician or a mining engineer. It is not until the student has rounded general education as a college "graduate" that he is best qualified to make choice of "elective studies." Otherwise, he voyages on unexplored seas without chart or compass, steering as best he can. A premature choice elects not between specialties of knowledges but between "softs and hards," as when "patristic Greek" at Harvard was taken not by budding theologians but by those who "went in" for athletics. But when the college has "graduated" the youth into manhood and made him ready to accept the responsibility of choice and life-aim, selection should be invited, not only of studies but of teachers, as in the German universities. The "born teacher," answering to the need of each child, whom children "love to hear," should indeed be selected throughout the common schools as well as for the kindergarten and the university, but it is only as we reach the latter that so far it

Premature Choice

has been safe to give natural selection by students' choice free play.

Education tested by Results

Our "higher education" should produce definite results in higher morals and higher character, and it is self-impeached when it gives us tricksters or hoodlums. The happy effervescence of young manhood has need to bubble itself off in sports and fun, but the self-restraint which comes with the true discipline of the scholar should prevent that over-stepping of the bounds of sanity and decency which gives to common uneducated brutality an example and excuse. The student body in our upper schools should be self-organized, self-governed, under restraint of its own public opinion, alert to the responsibilities of an aristocracy of scholarship, and thus prepared to bring into the body politic, year by year, clean, new blood capable of the highest service to the democracy from which its opportunity has come.

Culture

The final education completes the whole man, with the "culture" which is as the flower to the fruit, the delight side of life, literature, music, art, the enjoyment of Nature. Here also the faculties are to be led forth, e-ducated, trained, to fullness of appreciation, an appreciation not of technical skill,

as when a painter admires the handling of a pigment, but of qualities of inspiration. This makes of life a garden in which, after the work-a-day toil of the field, there is rest.

All Life is Education

But "schooling" is not all of education. All life is education — outside of school and after school-days as well. The example of parents, the influence of companions, the abiding bonds of friendship, the touch-and-pass of incidental acquaintanceship, are all agencies of unconscious education throughout our lives. But on the men and women of education there is laid a duty of conscious education, of cultivating the art and the arts of life, that should lead them and those with them upon ever higher planes of knowledge and discipline and character. The state recognizes this in providing the public library, which shall supplement and extend through adult life the opportunities of the school. But it is above all for the scholar, self-impelled, to develop his individual life, and thus his part of the common life, in full responsiveness to everything that is highest in life, "to hitch his wagon to a star," to find in affairs, in social life, in politics, in religion, alike, at once opportunity to apply all with

which life has endowed him and new endowment for life to come.

The Self-educated

It should put to shame those who have enjoyed and not fulfilled the opportunities of schooling and the discipline of education that men and women, denied these opportunities and this discipline, have often developed by the education of daily life a standard of noble character and uplifted living, far above that of many who have wasted their talents and belittled themselves. There have been artists who, lacking hands, have drawn pictures with their toes; there are workers who, lacking tools, have overcome all disadvantages, made their own tools, and achieved their perfect work. All honor to such as these! but let us not argue that lack of education, of hands, or of tools, has made them what they are.

Rest and Re-creation

In education, for the youth and through adult-life as well, a great factor is rest and re-creation. Our busy age neglects what it most needs. We have gone daft for amusement — it is a vice of the times; but that is not re-creation. Nor is idleness, rest. Here also the happy mean is between the extreme which we reject and the extreme to which our pendulum swings. The victim of "cram,"

with head-splitting ache and eyes red from the blood-congestion in his brain, his head in a towel and his feet in hot water, is no worse and no better than the hero of sport, his head cracked by blow or kick and with black eye and bruised body from the athletic field. We need to learn to rest. For we of to-day not only "murder sleep," but murder waking rest. The diversion of our busy thoughts into quiet is an unknown art. We cannot fold our hands or infold our spirits with quiet. The art of rest must be one of our educative arts of life.

Thus in education, the law of Nature holds. Each right step, in the individual life, is found to be in harmony with the great laws of the universe. All is in tune. Education has been so wrong in the past, so far from Nature's way, especially in its relations with democracy, that to many there is despair as to right education. But it is only within the past generation that mankind has reached that place in progress where real education is rightly discerned. Our progress since has been indeed wonderful and encouraging. Let us not fail of heart in this work for the future.

Harmony from Education

OF BUSINESS

OF BUSINESS

IGNORANT or educated, self-taught or schooled, the boy or girl, the man or woman, "begins life," — faces the world. "The world," it is said, "is all before him where to choose." At first, this does not seem true. The world of present and personal possibilities is but a part of the great world. Yet it is the open door. Every road leads everywhere. A boy with an "aim in life," and will-power behind the aim, has good chance for any goal. The girl's choice, of old, was passive; she had to wait for her world till a man should open the door for her. But to-day her world also is within her choice; she also may have aim, and need not wait the happening man. Nowadays, boy or girl alike may each measurably decide what his or her busy-ness, work in the world, shall be. Free-will steers predestination, and purpose builds in and out from environment, as the rudder of the great ship, answering to will, controls and directs the predestinating forces of steam and wave.

Facing the World

Choice of Busy-ness

It is a prime usefulness of education that it enables the youth to make a fit choice.

Education and Success

It used to be assumed that education was a hindrance to "success in life." The great merchant was to begin by sweeping out the store. The weakling was the proper candidate for college, whence a living might be assured for him in the church or other "learned profession." A college education was thought a handicap against "practical" achievement. This superstition is one of the husks the world has thrown off. The free play of competition has entered all the professions, and all are the better for it. The theological seminary can no longer send out spiritless souls to inspire spirituality, nor the medical colleges weak characters to tell men how to get strong. Competition demands choice of tools. A man should first know to what "calling" he is called, by nature, by his own nature. We need clay for bricks, oak for a ship's keel, willow for baskets, cast iron for stoves, wrought iron for shovels, the finest steel of finest temper for edge tools. There are men of like materials. Competition — not that for money, but that of qualities — is the test of the modern world. It rejects alike tool steel in place of clay, or clay in place of cast iron. So it rejects from commercial success men of too soft nature,

Competition demands Choice of Tools

of weak will, and from spiritual success men of too hard nature, of reckless self-will. First of all, then, a man should seek to know what he is good for. The tragedies of human life are largely from the failures of mis-placement. Yet ever it is the finer material that is of the wider range. Steel can be used in place of bricks, but clay cannot be used in place of steel. A wise education should have taught the youth of what use his material may best be in the world.

The World a House-that-Jack-built

In the period of education, all relations are personal. Life-activities are concentrated on the internal development of the human being — the youth is to make the most of himself. Now relations become social, external — the man is to make the most of the world. He has been dealing with the laws of personal development; he deals now with the laws of social development. He is to do service for others, and thus earn his living. Thus the busy world, the world of business, is a great House-that-Jack-built, ordered under the reign of law, in which one service fits in with another. The science of trade is indeed called *economics*, house-rule, and we must master its laws to practice at best advantage the

art of business. "Know thyself — know the world," "know laws — know facts," are canons of success. Knowledge is indeed power.

"Old" and "New" Schools in Economics

There is a discussion as between the "old" and the "new" schools in economics, because the old advanced laws and applied these to facts, while the new seeks facts and generalizes these into laws. The difference is of method only. The old political economy is deprecated as philosophic rather than historical and theoretic instead of practical, emphasizing a narrow self-interest instead of the larger good. The old political economy indeed thought first of things; the new economics thinks first of men — and this is better. But there is no more need of a new economics than of a new religion. The truly philosophic becomes the historic; true theory becomes actual practice; and an enlightened self-interest *is* altruistic in high degree. The aim of economics is gain. But greed is not gain. Selfishness and self-interest are not the same. For men cannot live to best result except in the light of the larger good. Here economics shades into ethics, and cannot be separated from it.

In the beginning a man earned his living simply, each man for himself. He was independent of all but Nature. He tilled or killed food for himself, tended his own flock, wove his own clothes, built his own hut. He defended himself against the forces of Nature, wild beasts, and hostile man. When Nature denied rain, sunshine, warmth, to his little field or his little flock, he soon starved. He had small store, and the wide world could not help him. The stronger man made him his slave, his dependent. With civil organization, that is, civilization, through the tribe, the nation, and now in world-relation, independence gave way to inter-dependence. Independence, dependence, inter-dependence, has been the line of progress. Man exchanges. Primitive barter has given place to complex commerce. To-day men are interdependent, each man upon each other man, throughout the world. Foresight safeguards. Manufacture transforms. Capital stores. Transportation equalizes. The weather bureau telegraphs the storm and the farmer saves his hay. A forest commission, preserving trees, prevents droughts and famines. Irrigation fertilizes deserts. If Nature denies rain and warmth for crops in

Independent Man

Inter-dependent Man

India or Ireland, the sunshine that is elsewhere in the world, stored in bounteous crops, will be brought to their service, preventing starvation. The cotton of the subtropical south, the wool of the temperate north, kept from harvest to winter, manufactured into cloth, transported the world over, clothe the world. The man who dressed in skins has a shirt; he who had one has two, and can wash and be clean.

Free Play of Competition

This is the grand result of the economic evolution of society, made possible by the free play of competition, under which each human particle finds its part in that differentiation of function which develops the social organism in a vast interdependence of all parts. But there is another result. In the fluid sea, in the fluent quicksands, where gravitation is not offset by cohesion, heavy things sink. So in economic freedom, the men who do not swim, sink. It is this law that has compelled man to build boats and made him master of all seas. It is this law which compels men to struggle for life and a living, in a struggle which makes strong. All the same, the man who is sinking must have a friendly hand into the boat. This humanity owes him, for his sake — and for its

own sake. Otherwise he may overturn the boat in his struggles as he goes down. Organization, obtaining the beneficences, must also mitigate the malversations, of natural law. This is an economic as well as a moral responsibility. A system which makes the few rich, but the many poor, cannot last. The winds of heaven soon overturn the tree whose roots are not as broad as its top.

The Earth the Source of Production

To earn his living, to make the best of things, a man must work. He may work with his hands or his head, his muscle or his brains. If he receives by gift, this means that some one before him has worked, and saved. The first step of work is when men take from the earth the material on which further work is to be done — by tilling fields, or digging in mines, or tending flocks that feed on the earth, or catching fish in the sea. Mother Earth is indeed the mother of wealth; land is the source of production. There is no "material" value which does not originate from it. The land is the domain of a sovereign — in a kingdom, of the king; in our Union, of each State as representing the people. The sovereign gives title to owners of land, and by "right of eminent domain"

may by just method take it back from an owner for the need of the public. To "own" land is thus merely to hold the right to use it and transfer the title.

Land and Rent

To obtain product the soil must be "worked:" labor must be applied to land. Some land is better than other: with the same labor, it gives product of more value, two bushels of potatoes instead of one. The owner may let the land be used by a tenant. The farmer does not get less or more for the potatoes, but the owner gets more "rent." Rent, then, does not increase the price of products, but measures the value of the land. Land is also needful to house upon. Its rent, then, increases with the proximity of people. This increase is called the "social increment." Rent comes, therefore, from nature-value or social increment. The higher value of "desirable" land is not because of the owner or the worker, but from Nature or from the people. Thus the doctrine of sovereignty, of eminent domain, over land, in the interest of all the people, is a doctrine as fundamental in economics as in the theory of the state, and a land tax within the limits of rent is the economic method for reclaiming for the people the value which

Nature or the social organization, and not the individual owner or worker, has put there.

The farmer is the man on whom all of us depend for our food, for our clothes, in part for our shelter. Nearly half of all workers are busy in farm-life. With him are the woodsman, the miner, the quarryman, the hunter, the fisherman, — each doing his part singly to extract from Nature the raw material which all men need. The farmer is the man most dependent on Nature, least dependent on men, on whom men most depend. He lives close to Nature, in the fresh air, in the sunshine, is his own master, — but has, in the nature of things, the least help from the social organization. Yet labor-saving implements, improved seeds, fertilizers, help him to do more work at less cost; the weather bureau forewarns him better than his guess; the railroad gives him the world's market; the trolley brings him closer to his neighbors; the public library lends him books; education lifts his life, though it may decrease his content. If crops fail elsewhere, he gets the better price; if crops are abundant, the storing, packing, canning industries save his sur-

The Farmer

His Help from Society

plus; if his own crops fail, they in turn supply him with food. As a better banking system is developed, local banks will give him more cheaply the credit he needs, until his savings make him his own capitalist. Still, at the mercy of Nature, seed by seed and day by day, he must till his crops and tend his stock, doing his own work by himself and seeing its fruition. But there is no longer the isolation which of old dulled him and drove his wife crazy; and his life is worth living as never before. Competition from the West — whose rich lands and broader farms, permitting labor-saving machinery on a large scale, have produced better crops more cheaply — has reduced farming in New England, where Massachusetts grew in 1890 only 1800 bushels of wheat against 119,000 bushels in 1860; but the farmers of New England will be the better off from raising garden product by "high farming." Thus even the farmer, most of all subject to the ups and downs of Nature, finds economic gain at the last in changing conditions from which at first he seems to benefit least and which in some cases seem to make his lot and his life the harder. Though hard work conceals the poetry of his calling, his is the vocation

His Work by Himself

His economic Gain

of the golden age, to which all men desire to return; for he deals with life and is its minister, the alchemist who transmutes dead earth into golden grain, and the grass of the field into food of the beasts that are the companions and servitors of man. And in this work he finds or should find that inspiration of love and service which in highest degree only living things can call forth.

Manufacture

To the raw material from the farm, the forest, the mine, the quarry, the waters, manufacture or handiwork adds value by changing its form, through successive steps, in which the product of one process becomes the material of the next, up to the finished product. Here modern organization and the division of labor reach their largest development; the worker in the home, the shop, the mill, gives place to the operative in the great factory, and the individual becomes a minor yet an essential and integral part of a huge organism. At once the master and the slave of his machine, less free than the farmer, less dependent on Nature and more on man, sheltered from the weather, more sure of return, with shortening hours and bettering pay as labor gets its increasing share of product, doing but a particle of the completed

The Operative

work, — his life has its good and its ill, balancing more and more to the good, except as trade depressions, corporate mismanagement, "strikes," or other causes or conditions mostly beyond his individual power to control or to mitigate, throw him back upon his savings or his "luck." The division of labor necessary to get each part done well and at least cost, is carried so far that the "hand" in a great factory cannot see the use or the worth of his work, and cannot come in touch with the men who direct his labor or who buy his product. He cannot feel his relation with human affairs. But all these workers, each doing his own part, are necessary in the great House-that-Jack-built, and to each is due credit and honor for his work well done and opportunity to make the most out of his life.

Transportation

The transportation industries add value, not by change of form, but by change of place, bringing goods to a place where they are more wanted, and carrying passengers where they want to go, and also by help of telephone and telegraph transporting intelligence and saving cost of time and distance in travel. Their workers, like the farmers, work each by himself, yet like the operative each

is part of a great organism, which depends on the alertness and accuracy of each man. Day and night, in rain and shine, the railroad man, the seafarer, in tense strain, having lives and wealth in his keeping, does his duty, serving all the world. His work is entirely the result of modern invention and organization, without which it would not exist.

The Wage-earners

Those engaged in manufactures, a quarter of all workers, and in transportation, an eighth of all, make up with farm-hands, unskilled laborers, and household servants, the great body of wage-earners, who get stated pay, either for their time or "by the piece." The "industrial classes," with the farmers, count up seven-eighths of all who "earn their living" by work, and the welfare of seven-eighths of the population is directly, and of the whole community is indirectly, bound up with their prosperity. Their work is the foundation of all business, as they are the basis of the state.

The Capitalist

He who saves from his earnings is at once a capitalist. Capital, like land, is a material, not human, factor in production, yet also, like land, it is good only for and by human

use. Unlike land, it has human origin, in the virtue of frugality, of which miserliness is the counterfeit vice. And it is capital, savings, which makes human progress possible. The seed which the farmer saves to sow is capital; and when famine compelled the New England settlers to eat their seed-corn, their capital was gone, they had nothing to go on with, death stared them in the face.

Capital the Seed of Industry

Capital is in fact the seed from which all industry proceeds; a man's breakfast, his clothes, his house, his tools, the steam-engine, the factory, the material on which he works, are the pre-requisites for production. Without these, he is a hungry savage. With them, all civilization helps him do his work. The only panacea for the "labor difficulty" is that in times of prosperity and good wages frugality should save and store for the laborer the capital on which to live while he is out of a job, — whether because of the new machine, or the bettered method, or the slackness of work, — and it is to the advantage of the community that wages should be high enough to give him margin for this saving. If a man has not saved, he must let his labor to those who have saved,

or borrow from them money to buy these helps, by aid of which he can pay out of his increased productivity interest for the use of capital and still have more earnings left for himself.

Capital adds value to things by storing them till they are wanted, as food for winter and ice for summer, and it adds value to men by giving them the wherewithal, as tools and material, to work to best advantage. It is therefore the friend and not the enemy, not the destruction but the salvation, of labor. No one borrows capital unless he expects to gain by the loan. Because it is measured in money and deposited through banks, we think of capital as money only; but interest is paid really for the use of the things which money buys. The miser gains no interest from the money he uselessly hoards, nor can money in banks earn interest until it is loaned out for use, nor can "stocks" and "bonds" pay unless their proceeds are put to paying use.

Capital adds Value

Capital is paid by a share of product, but a decreasing share. As wages rise, interest falls. For with increased product, higher wages and larger profits, there is more margin for savings, the wealth of the world, its

Capital paid by Interest

saved capital, increases even beyond industrial development, there is less proportionate demand, and the pay for capital falls. It is only where property is insecure or where there is risk of loss, as in new communities or in new enterprises, that an insurance premium, added as it were in interest, seems to make interest high, for on secure investments the price of "securities" rises until the percentage of return is close to the usual rate of interest. The decrease in interest pinches the widow and orphan, who must live upon the "fixed income" of past savings, as well as the drone in the human hive who lives on his father's earnings, but it gives better chances to the world's workers. Except when capital is "a drug in the market" because of bad times and lack of business, a low rate of interest helps business; and banks, sound, safe, and well managed, shops through which capital in the form of money is gathered in and let out for use, are, like other good stores, a gain to the community, tending to reduce the cost of loans as all shops tend to reduce prices.

Insurance and Interest

The industrial organization is a great army of peace, which must be officered. The

privates, or hand-workers, must work under direction; and it is the captain of industry, the director, the brain-worker, who leads his men to success. By directing work to best purpose, he makes the most of labor and gives workers their best chance, and benefits the world. Colt, arranging for his revolver the interchangeability of parts, set an example which soon gave to American mechanical products a commanding position in foreign markets; the standardizing of sizes and shapes, as of wire, bolts, screws, and nuts, by intelligent coöperation of the directing class, has been of untold practical and money value to the world. What the director does for the moment, the inventor does for all time, — saving labor and bettering the laborer. The welfare of labor has kept steady pace with the progress of invention, for with each laborer saved there has been new opportunity for two.

The Director of Industry

Brains also must have its pay; and the intellectual and moral qualities of intelligence, ingenuity, courage, enterprise, integrity, deserve and get high pay. It is the combination of all, in rare men, that gets the best pay — in the double reward of money return and of developed personal character;

The Pay of Brains

for neither intelligence without integrity nor integrity without intelligence can win abiding and entire success. It used to be said that rent, wages, and "profit," — the pay for land, labor, and capital, — make up the cost of product. But capital is paid for by interest, and profit is truly the difference between cost and price. Out of this difference the director, as also the inventor, gets his pay. He does not add to the cost of product, but lessens it; utilizing capital, saving labor, increasing product, decreasing cost, he saves alike for the capitalist, the laborer, and the consumer. Usually, the director commutes this pay from profit into a stated salary, and the inventor into an "outright" or "royalty" payment, and because also the employer of labor usually supplies or obtains the capital, or the capitalist employs the director at a salary, the interest which is the pay of capital and the residual profit from which direction gets its pay have been generally confused.

Profit

But it is always on the ability to make profit, through the administration or the machinery which reduces cost, that the director's pay depends. When he mis-directs production, so that cost exceeds price, the business fails, and there is no place for him. As cost de-

The Director's Share of Product

creases, and rivals adopt his or better methods and machinery, competition reduces prices, and profit lessens towards nothing, until a new improvement again reduces cost. Thus the director gets a decreasing share of product; yet the enormous growth of business with industrial development so aggrandizes the total returns as to assure to an able manager a large and increasing salary — which is not taken from the producer or consumer but benefits both. With each improvement the good organizer or administrator by so much makes himself unnecessary, but the possibilities of improvement are so inexhaustible that at each step forward he becomes of increasing instead of decreasing importance.

The executive Profession

Modern development has indeed evolved in this field a new kind of calling, the executive profession. The skilled executive applies his brains — his native powers and his utilized experience — to ever-new problems in the course of daily business, until he develops the capability of applying himself successively or simultaneously to many kinds of business, as a lawyer or a doctor takes up his varied "cases." This is the modern "man of business:" a great

banker, a business lawyer, the head of an industrial corporation, the president of a university, the bishop of a diocese, gains success from qualities which these all have in common and which they apply in differing environments, rather than to special qualities connected with the specific environment. These men are in great measure interchangeable. They will master a new set of facts, of circumstances, as a lawyer will master a new case. This kind of success involves indeed a great danger in personal character. The bishop becomes more a secular than a spiritual person. The banker, dealing with money, hardens to men and loses qualities of soul.

The social Factor in Production

There is still another element in production — usually forgotten or concealed, but in some respects the most important of all. This is the contribution of the social organization. The settler in savage wilds must waste a great part of his time and force in defending himself against beasts or savage man, in making his clearing, in building his road, in a thousand disadvantages of unorganized life. This waste from productivity, civilization, the social organization, saves. As government, it assures to him the peace-

ful use of all his powers for productive purpose, and gives him numberless facilities, for which it gets pay in taxes. As a public corporation, it builds him a turnpike and gets pay in tolls, or a railroad which replaces road, wagon, and horse, and gets pay in freight; or supplies him gas replacing the house-made "dip" at great coöperative saving. The voluntary payment for tolls, freight, and light is itself proof that it would cost the user more to build his own road, transport his own goods, make light for himself — despite all grumblings at high charges; but the compulsory payment of the road tax, the water rate, the school tax, the pay of police, and other communal expenses increasing public facilities or promoting the common weal, obscures their economic value. The school tax, for instance, gives better human tools and saves cost of prisons. Thus taxes are a part of cost, and with the increase of public facilities perhaps an increasing part of cost, though again these, rightly levied and applied, may decrease price. Productive taxes, as these may be called, are among the best investments of the community and of the business man. But there is nothing that more needs watching as a factor in cost,

Taxes

Taxes may decrease or increase Price

for because of its compulsory character no factor is so liable to abuse. In mis-directed or "crooked" taxation, taxes do increase prices, and are at last paid by those who can least afford to pay them. Thus a tax on mortgages raises the rate of interest to the borrower, as surely as the price of telegrams is raised to the sender by the penny stamp he is required to put on. The degenerate countries of Latin Europe, as Spain and Italy, are kept in grinding poverty — prices and all cost of living and working increased, industry thwarted, export and therefore import trade blocked — because of excessive taxes. Confiscating sometimes half the crop or the wage, levied upon production and exchange, these taxes are not used to increase public facilities, but to withdraw for wasteful armies and navies men from production and capital from use, to pay interest on huge public debts, and to bar every gate towards prosperity. The commercial greatness of England has been developed in great part by confining taxes to their productive use.

Mis-directed Taxation

Product pays all — rent, wages, interest, taxes, profit. Of these five elements, rent and wages and taxes, all being pay for labor

Product pays all

or labor-saving facilities, tend constantly to increase; interest and profit to decrease. The pay of labor increases as modern invention and improvement develop machines or methods by which, from the same expenditure of human labor, product is increased. Rent, the pay for the use of the more productive land, is the equivalent of so much labor saved from wasteful expenditure on poorer land, which needs more labor to produce like product. A fall in rent, in fact, usually betokens loss: in the case of New England, lands thrown out of cultivation by the opening of more productive lands at the West, or of shops in a city left vacant by the offering of better facilities elsewhere, a loss to the proprietor offset by economic gain to the community; in the case of mistaken improvements or of trade depression, a loss to all. Taxes, as the pay for public facilities, are the equivalent of so much labor saved from private expenditure, as for roads, water, watching; though, when wrongly levied so as to increase cost or check trade, or wastefully expended otherwise than in the increase of public facilities, they may be a large factor in increasing price. Thus both rent and taxes follow the law of labor-pay and increase with

Rent and Taxes rise with Wages

wages, and though a part of cost do not normally increase price. The rise of wages keeps pace with increase of product and decrease of price; for labor gets an increasing share of product as interest and profit diminish. But as "time wages" rise, "piece-wages" fall, in a perpetual process of balancing the return for the day's work, because by help of inventions a worker can do more and more piece-work within the day and its pay.

As Prices fall, Wages rise

With higher wages, increased prosperity, greater savings and lower prices, the whole world wants more and buys more; greater purchasing power means increased demand. Thus there can be no over-production of the things that are wanted: it is mis-directed production of things not wanted, or the interference with the purchasing power of the people by mis-directed distribution, that brings about "bad times" and the unhealthy state where prices fall below cost and industry is checked. The whole trend of industrial evolution is to pay more for men and less for things, and thus results the seeming contradiction that as prices fall, wages rise.

The employment of one man by another, partnerships, coöperative associations on a large scale, have been steps in industrial organization, utilizing the coöperation of labor for the common good. Those who had savings loaned them as capital for such business, conducted by others, or intrusted them to a super-cargo or ship-captain as "ventures" in foreign trade. But as savings and wealth increased, there was evolved a new coöperation of capital in the joint-stock company, or corporation, through which investors might delegate the responsibility of direction to directors or managers chosen by themselves. At first each shareholder was liable, as a partner, for all the joint debts. To abate this risk, the state was invoked, and laws were passed authorizing "limited liability" companies, in which the sharer was relieved of pecuniary responsibility beyond his share. Thus the modern corporation is a creature of the state, an artificial person, "having no soul," that is, without personal responsibility, and "never dying," that is, without prospect of the property changes, sometimes remedial and wholesome, wrought by death.

Coöperation and Corporations

A personally directed business, other conditions being even, has advantage over a

The Rivalry of Corporations

corporate business; but perpetuity, the limitation of liability, and ready transferability of ownership, inviting large aggregation of capital which in turn made possible and necessary the highest directive ability, over-balanced this natural advantage. With increase of business, the extra expenses of corporate management were offset by great directive skill; and private concerns doing a smaller business at larger proportionate cost were supplanted by the competition of public companies. But now rival corporations entered the field, and "railroad wars," "gas wars," and other "cut-throat competition," underselling below cost, demoralized investment and industry. Without state interference, this suicidal course would have found its end in the bankruptcy of the mis-directed and losing company and the survival of the wiser and stronger under bettered conditions. But the natural results of "over-capitalization," "stock-watering" or mis-direction were prevented by the corporate privilege and by the devices of "receiverships" and "re-organization," too often pretexts for new spoliation. To forestall or mitigate this corporate competition, "pools" were devised to divide business or regulate prices — but these

proved only a temporary and inadequate makeshift.

Combinations into "Trusts," so called and mis-called because arranged through trustees, were formed to surmount this competition. The government had set an example in the Post-office monopoly, against which competition was prohibited by law as a misdemeanor, and this first unification of a great industry had been of such benefit to the great body of the people that its pecuniary losses were condoned or overlooked. The consolidation of local railroads into through-line systems, initiated by the elder Vanderbilt, to the great benefit of traffic and travel, was a long stride toward the unification of industries. The pioneer Trust, unifying the oil industry, having neither governmental privilege nor municipal franchise, obtained monopolistic control by purchase of lands, by obtaining railroad discriminations, by persecution of business rivals, and by corruption and domination of legislatures — with the mixed result that it gave the public a staple product of better quality at lowered price and produced overweening fortunes, one of them the greatest burden of wealth in the whole world, at vast cost of public demoralization.

"Trusts"

This unification of industries has now extended into most fields, particularly those of municipal franchises, often with great possibilities of benefit — economically, within the industry, in the prevention of waste from misdirected competition and commercially to the public in standardizing and bettering product within or below former price.

Their Evils

But these possible advantages are obscured, if not offset, by evident and great disadvantages. Trusts have too often sought first of all to maintain or increase prices, sometimes in face of a natural reduction in prices which, effective despite their efforts, has given a trust credit it has not deserved. Moreover, the separation of the "hand" from the head is carried to an extreme in which consciousness of and conscience for human relations are eliminated. Worst of all are the great public demoralizations — politically by the corruption of public and business life and financially by the conscienceless methods of "promoters" and the reckless manufacture by bankers of "watered" securities to the full margin of present or prospective income. Thus the creatures of the state have become captors of the state, demoralizing public conscience and private standards.

Men upright in personal relations, when relieved of personal responsibility, will permit a corporation of which they are shareholders or directors to do what they would not do for themselves; and a corporate manager is too often expected to dull his conscience into acquiescence in bribery by the soothing fallacy that as a trustee for those who have committed money to his keeping, he had better give over a part to highwaymen than risk the loss of all.

The Remedy Publicity

The evils that the state has done the state must undo — not by a state socialism which may prove more tyrannous than the tyrants it would overthrow, but by "turning on the light" of publicity upon the creatures of public privilege, and in cases of public franchises by recovering to the people through the sovereign right of eminent domain or of taxation, values which the public create and to which they have just right. State-created corporations should be state-regulated. Organized under public authority, they are *ipso facto* open to public inspection and responsible to public opinion. Publicity through public accountants, as in the national banking system, is a chief safeguard, in a fulfillment by state authority of the system partially

developed by the New York Stock Exchange in "listing" securities, so that stockholders and the public may have the full facts as to organization, valuation, and administration.

Public Responsibility

A private business is no one's business but the owner's, but he is personally liable and responsible; the public business of a corporation, freed from private liability, must accept public responsibility. The law of New York requires that corporate shares may be paid-in only in cash or property, dollar for dollar, but in the absence of public accounting for property value, huge stock-jobbing operations, financed by men personally of good repute, fleece the public. When the public knows all, when the dangers from limited liability and delegated responsibility are met by full publicity, when social ostracism waits the man whose fortune or power is won at cost of conscience, when a due share of return to the public is required for public privilege, the ills which corporations have brought upon the state may find cure without sacrifice of the benefits they bring and without further surrender of personal rights and opportunities to a still huger state-created machine of socialism.

Labor Combinations

As private enterprise and individual coöperation have been made more difficult by the emergence of directing ability, especially in the development of great corporations, the individual worker has felt the more need to combine with other workers to "hold his own." The first impulse in such combinations is a policy of restricting work. For a first effect of saving labor — by wiser direction, a better method, a new machine — is to throw some man out of work, to make him for the moment useless, to "take the bread out of his mouth." Here, as elsewhere, Nature's readjustments for the race are at the cost of displacement to the individual. But it is poor solace to a starving man to tell him that next year he will have more bread than he wants. This is why labor has always been against labor-saving machinery ; why it drove Arkwright from his home, broke up the spinning-jenny of Hargreaves, and mobbed Jacquard ; why in face of the proved fact that in the long run invention helps labor, it has in the short run opposed inventions. Here is the key to the conflict, mistakenly called between labor and capital, which is really a protest of self-defense by the laborer against the director of industry who saves labor and

lessens work. Thus organized labor, naturally enough, first sets itself to increase work, to get work and wages for more workers, and therefore seeks to restrict apprenticeship, restrict hours, restrict over-time, restrict even the amount one man may do in an hour. The stated and valid reason for an eight-hour day is to give the laborer useful and uplifting leisure; the immediate motive of the labor organizations is to get more days' work for its members, and of the laborer to get a higher rate per hour and then work over-time.

The Policy of Restriction

Yet restriction is a policy of short-sight. The best service is done by the ship captain who brings the largest cargo safe to port by the most direct route in the fewest days — though his crew gets fewer days' pay. The world is the richer. This is real prosperity. If the captain is swept overboard in the storm, and the rudder breaks, and the cargo shifts, and at last ship and cargo and crew go down together, the need for new captain, new crew, new ship, new cargo "makes trade brisk." But all that has gone down is loss to the world and to each laborer in it. This is adversity in masquerade. It is at this cost that war and cyclone and the Black Death have made "business good" and

"wages high." Restriction is the natural impulse of self-defense against progress — as the owners of cows opposed Stephenson's railroad. The story of the lad Humphrey Potter, tying a string to the engine valves that he might have time to play, and throwing himself out of a job, is the eternal type of labor-saving progress. But progress cannot be "downed." The invention comes into use; the next generation has its work done by the machine, but gets higher pay for tending that.

The mainspring of business is the desire of each worker, whether with hands or brain, to market his labor or product to the best advantage, to get for it the most money or the most reward. This leads him to desire the widest market for himself, and the narrowest for his rival. The makeshift of restriction is thus a first impulse alike of the labor union, the merchants' guild, the trading nation. Each wants the "open door" for itself — but a shut door against its competitors. Each wants its "home market" and the foreign market too, forgetful that the foreign market is simply the aggregated home markets of other peoples. This policy becomes the war theory of trade and is the

The "Open Door"

easy road to actual war, industrial or between nations. But a true commerce is the evangel of peace; in true trade, each person gains, else he would not trade; "a good bargain is one in which both gain." A man needs not only to work at his best, but to get from his neighbor work at the neighbor's best; then all are best off. If he is good at shoemaking and his neighbor at tailoring, he sells shoes and buys clothes. It does n't pay to set a man to do a boy's work, nor a boy to do a man's work. When the carpenters' union in New York sought to prevent work on wooden sashes or mouldings made outside the city, and the masons to prevent work on stone dressed outside the jurisdiction of the union, they not only declared war against fellow-workers in the lumber regions of Michigan and the quarries of Vermont, but by preventing labor-saving in manufacture and transportation, they increased the cost of building and limited their own field of work.

True Trade Peace not War

As an injustice to one is an injury to all, conversely a benefit to all is a good to each. The true and great value of trades unions is not in "downing" the outside workingman as a "scab," or waging always costly and

The true Value of Trades Unions

often wasteful strikes, or imposing restrictions upon industry and production, but in raising the standard of workmanship among its members, so that the union "card" is a certificate which outside workmen become ambitious to gain, as their best recommendation; in organizing methods of adjusting wages and of arbitration; in promoting improvements within the trade; and in providing as benefit associations for members thrown temporarily out of work without fault of their own, or in cases of sickness, infirmity, and death. Thus the individual has the benefit of the organization in "holding his own" by the methods of peace and not of war. The extraordinary rise in the pay of house-servants, without trade union help, shows that it is by natural laws of supply and demand rather than by artificial pressure that increase of wages is brought about.

"The Forgotten Man"

Restriction is garbed always in guise of the upholding of the standard of wages or of living, or the protection of guild rights, or the promotion of home industry; but it overlooks always "the forgotten man" who is its victim, and it is too short-sighted to foresee how its boomerang returns to its own hurt. The free workingman becomes a

"scab," and smuggling is promoted as a criminal industry. "The forgotten man" is always to be remembered in a full accounting of human affairs.

Exchange: the Trader

The trader is another man who gets "profit" by virtue of his direction, not of production, but of exchange. The merchant or shop-keeper does for the community the service of facilitating barter by enabling any buyer to get what he wants, where and when he wants it, by purchase with money. This is a great economic gain over the direct barter of labor or "swap" of goods, as when the farmer had to find a shoemaker who wanted potatoes before he could get a pair of shoes. A trader who supplies to the trading public what it wants earns a fair profit for his time, skill, and good judgment; one who mistakes the public demand and thus promotes misdirection of production pays the penalty in "failure" and "forced sale" of his goods at a price which will induce buyers to buy at a "bargain" — requiring the seller to sell at loss and inducing the buyer to buy what he does n't need. It is not wholesome morally to get something for nothing or wholesome economically to have price below cost. But

within the margin of profit, competition between shops, in meeting the public demand and selling at the lowest charge for the service rendered, fulfills the law of progress.

Department Stores

The same causes and conditions which in production have developed trusts, with their good and their evil, have in this field developed the "department stores" of "wholesale retailers." These command manufacturers, import through their own foreign buyers, lower prices by dispensing with the profits of numerous middlemen, unify retailing by bringing all kinds of goods together under one roof, to the great time- labor- and money-saving of the public; and demoralize trade and ruin more conservative traders by "bargain-counter" sales not less demoralizing to the feverish throng of women buyers to whose cupidity these gambles appeal. Against them restrictive legislation even more fatuous and futile than that directed against trusts has been proposed, but the only cure for the evils which for the time accompany their real service to the public is to be found in a wholesome public opinion and private good sense, that will restrain buyers from patronizing shops which cater recklessly to public greed, and from buying

at any price what they don't want. These great marts of trade are the modern equivalent of the ancient market-place, centralizing again the retail trade cumbrously distributed among petty shops, as the great factory has centralized to advantage the varied product of household industries; and the small shopkeeper, earning a precarious living and often bankrupt, may find safer place in the great organization, in an interdependence which is surer than his independence. The neighborhood shops, which keep a local store of goods for immediate demand, as the baker, the butcher, the grocer, are more likely to hold their own against centralized competition, because they better serve the neighborhood need.

The Professions

There are other classes of workers who do not add value to things but to men, doing personal instead of material service — from the "learned professions" down to the household servant. The ministry to souls and bodies — of the preacher inspiring spiritual and moral development, of the lawyer promoting justice, of the doctor keeping the physical machinery in repair, of the teacher educating youth, of the author and the artist

uplifting and delighting by literature and art, of the journalist and the librarian spreading intelligence — is all a part of the world's work, in these ancillary callings. And household service, though not often does it "make drudgery divine," is division of labor with good economic gain, since, by its humbler toil, it frees the time and strength of those of higher capacity to do their larger service in the world. The able men of the professions command high remuneration because the service is great and the ability rare, and they must do their work, which is masterful over them, at much sacrifice of personal convenience. It is the doctor himself who must answer the call of duty at any hour of day and night; it is the lawyer in person whose ability or eloquence his client urgently demands, in proportion as he rises to success and fame; while the administrator of large affairs may so organize his business as to require his personal presence and his hand at the helm only at the convenient time or on critical occasion. On the other hand, the "professions" are over-crowded, and the average pay reduced, by the multitudes of half-fit people who throng into them, and in dull routine miss the great

Personal Service

opportunities these callings present. For, next to the statesman and the corporate executive who handle large affairs of state or business in lines of "light and leading," the professional man, dealing in vital personal relations with his fellows, has calling and election to uplift those about him into the larger life, to give "life more abundantly," to earn a reward paid not only in mere money but in richness of personal life.

The economic Relations of Woman

Here, too, is for the most part the work of woman, in the profession of wife and mother, help-meet of man. Her economic service is not less rich because it is a service of love, and is not of money reward. A man's mother has invested in her service for her son, in the frugality and denial which has earned for him his education, a capital which gives him his value; and his wife often earns the better half of his salary by her personal service of devotion to him and by her administration of his household. The world will be better off when, without loss of dignity or affection, a wife may receive credit for at least the salary a husband pays to his clerk. A household "budget" for the month or year, in place of breakfast wrangles over bills and wherewithal to pay them, would

redeem many an unhappy home. A sound business basis is as necessary for the affairs which the wife administers as for those of the husband, and forethought is the more important. A truer relation of woman with economics is one of the great gains of present social development, as the economic subservience of woman becomes a thing of the past, and the economic interdependence of the sexes is more and more recognized.

The Distribution of Wealth

With the immense accumulation of wealth from increased production and free exchange, its distribution, as measured in money, has become the economic problem of our time. Wages have risen, labor gets an increasing share of product, laborers and probably most men the world over are better off in the means of life than ever before; yet the vast forces put by the industrial and social organization of to-day into the hands of the few make them wealthy and powerful to a degree that inevitably provokes social discontent. The poor are not growing poorer. But the rich are growing so much richer — for a man with a hundred times the average wealth is no longer counted rich, but must multiply that again a hundred fold — that the contrast

is greater, the social gap wider, with every decade.

The modern Plutocrat

This overtopping condition of wealth is neither happy for the individual nor wholesome for the state. It is not a fortune that makes a man fortunate. Crœsus was not happy either as tyrant or plutocrat. Dante's Inferno had no fate more sad than those in our modern life — of men, though their fortunes may reach from the hundred toward the thousand millions, who bear the curses of those whom their methods have ruined and from the homes their "operations" have made desolate; who live in terror of legal inquisition or bodily assault; who are forced into corruption to protect their fortunes and cannot do the good they would gladly use their fortunes for; whose overwrought nerves or destroyed stomachs replace the joys of life with tortures as of the damned; whose sons are set against them by the curse of money; whose remains must be sealed under mountains of stone against the speculation of those who prey on the dead instead of on the living; who face death and the life to come with souls dead and hearts cold from lust of gain and brutality of power — horrors all recorded in the careers of one or another

Dives of to-day. Greatest of all is the tragedy of the good man struggling in vain against this blighting bane. Heavy indeed is the burden of riches, though few fear being rich. The shepherd complains that he must watch a hundred sheep, but envies the man who must care for a million dollars. Yet an Astor could *use*, as he said, only a fair salary for taking care of his fortune — a fortune which to his present heirs would seem small.

Reclamation by Taxation

The solution of this problem of distribution is more and more seen to be in the truth that it is as much by help of the social organization and machinery as by the productive or directive power of any one man that these colossal fortunes are evolved. The remedy is not in futile attempts to check production or saving, or to repress organization, but in making sure that a just proportion of product is returned to the people through taxation. Taxes on production, on trade, on utilized savings, on improvements, as buildings perhaps made beautiful by lavish outlay, are fines limiting private wealth-making and public welfare. Taxes on unused wealth, as vacant land or hoarded gold, on the rent of land, on superior incomes, on corporate privi-

leges and returns, on property passing at death to owners who have not earned — these are contributions reclaiming for the people the values given by bounty of Nature or created by help of the community. "Unto each, his own" — to the worker, his share in product; to the trader, his profit; to the saver, the benefit of his stored capital; but also to the people, return of the usufruct of the gifts of Nature and their share of the wealth all the people have helped to create.

The Antipodes of Socialism

This is the antipodes of socialism and communism, the logical result of that interlocking of freedom for each and interdependence of all which is the vital spirit of democracy. It is thus that while the poor are made richer, the rich will not be made poorer. It is thus that — in forest preserves, in parks and playgrounds, in better roads and cleaner streets, in water supply and drainage, in schools, libraries, museums, and music, for general education and re-creation rather than mere personal amusement, in baths and public conveniences — the people will get as a common benefit, returns from the social increment which will give to the democracy as a public right what European sovereigns lavish upon their subjects as a gift, without

surrender, to the delusive paternalism of the socialistic state, of the private rights which are the bulwark of a free society. It is thus that the free man, earning his own living to best advantage, will be able to pay his own way, and yet enjoy the higher standard of life made possible through the commonwealth.

Use and Waste

Men work and save that they may use. At the last, all production is for the consumer. Consumption is thus, in economics, "the end of the whole matter." But consumption may be use, in the true sense, or it may be waste, the false use. There is thrift in spending as well as in saving. It is by the consumption of food or fuel that work is done; but our "drink-bill" wastes us a billion dollars annually. The rich man who gives a "$10,000 ball" is praised for "making work" and "circulating money" by his extravagance and waste; but the capitalist who invests $10,000 in an industrial corporation or deposits it in a bank to be loaned for use, utilizes this in work and wages to far better purpose, "turning over" his capital again and again. The one lets water run to waste over the dam; the other utilizes it

to turn the mill-wheels of trade. The loss from fire, from the careless treatment of food, from the social waste of crime and pauperism, from the industrial waste of unemployed labor, all in some degree preventable in a well-ordered community, are alike injuries to the commonwealth, amounting to many times the total taxation or the aggregate saving. In a great city, the waste of aqueduct water is often equal to the use, and this is almost true of wealth throughout the nation. The poor could be twice as well-to-do, and the rich no poorer, if waste were prevented and consumption made productive; and this can in large measure be accomplished by individual temperance and frugality, by thrift in the home, by watch and ward over public affairs — the civic virtues which indeed democracy needs in economics and in government alike.

Money and its Use

Because money is the medium of trade and the measure of wealth, men mistake the symbol for the reality; forget that money is not a good-in-itself, an end, but a means only; and, lacking it, desire it for itself. The miser, hoarding gold, is the fool of this world, because for a thing useless in itself he

gives up everything worth having. Barrels are useful to measure and transport apples, and making or trading barrels is a useful business. So with money. Both are useful only for use. When the farmer must gather his apples and "move the crops," if barrels or the money to buy them be "short," he loses his crop. If he has not saved seed, or ploughs, or barrels, he must get them, and this he does by borrowing money, at the South "on the crop," at the West by pledge of his land or on his "credit," which means the belief, faith, confidence in him that he will pay.

Banks as Money-shops

A bank is a money-shop which lends the borrower money on his promise-to-pay, at a cost, in "discount" or "interest," lower than the increased price he would have to pay the seedsman or plough-maker or cooper for goods "on long time." The bank has this money on "deposit" from those who have saved wealth, just as the seedsman has collected seed from those who have saved seeds, and the bank makes a profit as the seedsman does by getting a price somewhat higher than it has to pay. This price must cover the risk of loss by bad debts. If there is plenty of seed in store,

and competing seed-shops, but not too many for the trade, and the farmer is "sure pay," he gets his seed cheap. So also with "easy money," a safe banking system with local banks, and "good credit," the price of money, the rate of interest or discount, is low.

The Round of Credit

The farmer may sell his crop of apples to a picker, and he to the store-keeper, and he to the commission agent, and he to the wholesale fruit-dealer, yet the apples are not transferred nor money passed till they are picked, barreled, and shipped to the city. So in a like round, the bank sells the use of money to the farmer, taking his bond or promise-note, puts the amount to his account, permits him to draw checks, and receives at last what has been paid him for the apples, without handling money at all except when the holder of a check asks gold or currency for it. But the apples or money must be there, when the receipt promising to deliver the apples or the "bill" promising to pay gold is presented. This is the "course of trade" when the West has to "move the crops," and borrows money from the East to do it; happily the West also has now money to lend to the East when it is needed for Eastern mills. This is the round which corresponds in economics to the

wonder-workings of water throughout nature, as from the ocean the sun draws vapor to make the clouds, and these shed rain upon the earth to water bounteous crops, and the forests gather drops for the brooks, and these make the streams which are dammed to turn the wheels of mills and slake the thirst of cities, and at last the rivers return to the sea in the completed cycle. General confidence, safe banking with banks throughout the country wherever needed, sound currency, laws just to loaner and borrower alike, good credit, — these lower the rate of interest and help every man to earn a surer and easier living.

Here also moral qualities are at the foundation, and business proves to be built on right and faith. Not money, but the love of money, and the lust of its power, is the root of all evil. The man who uses money to get power to get more, with no end but money-getting in view, blinds the eyes of his soul. For in the personal life, neither money, nor wealth, nor power, is a good-in-itself or in itself a pleasure.

Business built on Right and Faith

"Business is business," it is said, and there is no place in it for sentiment or morals or

Human Qualities count

Christianity. This is the half-truth which is more misleading than the lie. Money indeed seeks the cheaper market, as water runs down hill; thus equilibrium, the level of prices, is preserved. But in dealing not with things, but with human beings and the makers of things, human qualities count, and "morals" in the long run win. There is indeed no "sentiment" in the fact that a great railway corporation cannot afford to employ a drunkard, yet that rule has been one of the most efficient motives toward the virtue of temperance. Morality is knit into the very fibre of business. The cheat prospers for the time, but not for the lifetime. A lying salesman can't sell twice on the same road. England has lost much of the China trade in cottons because Manchester stuffs were so loaded with clay that "Americans," by contrast, became the name for honest goods. And "panics," "hard times," and all the ills they bring, come not so much because Nature denies her bounty or work and trade cease, as because fear takes the place of hope, public confidence is followed by distrust, wealth is withdrawn from use and hoarded unused in terror of loss. This is often but the reaction from "booms"

Panics and hard Times

and speculation into which a community has been led, through its own spirit of reckless greed, by "confidence men" who call themselves "promoters." Steadfastness in well-doing and resistance of the temptation of gaining without work, of getting without giving value, are the moral qualities which safeguard business and the commonwealth.

Ideal Relations in practical Life

For most men, and for many women, the greater part of their working hours is spent in the every-day relations of business life. These relations, not less vital because they concern the problem of earning a living, are rarely cultivated in full view of the great opportunity they present. Not only should a merchant with his clerks, a manufacturer with his workmen, provide fair hours and good light and fresh air and due warmth and reasonable rest and facilities of work; vastly beyond these are the courtesy and helpfulness and sympathy and justice and inspiration which those who have may give to those who want, securing in turn the loyalty and devotion of service which are their response. Coördination rather than subordination should be the spirit of business organizations. The golden rule may make

golden days under leaden skies, if the day's work of wearying routine have over it the light of human sympathy and helpfulness and cheer. And in turn "it pays" to have a cheerful mill, or store, or office, for decrease of friction means increase of work; and the man cheerfully ready to dare and do may be worth twice the salary of another whose first thought is always that "it can't be done." Throughout all the relations and circumstances of the business life, morals tell.

The Fruition of Business

Last of all, the art of business, as an art of life, has its fruition in the development of character, through the discipline of affairs and in that earned leisure wherein re-creation has its full meaning. The strenuous life of the world finds its complement, its fulfillment, in the serene life of the spirit. Business is to most men the great school for the formation of character — that which abides in and *is* the man. Thus business should provide, no less by the discipline of life than by the earning of a living, the foundation of personal development and social life. It is the trunk of the tree from which should blossom forth the flower and the fruit of life.

OF POLITICS

OF POLITICS

POLITICS is the science and art of government, or, in a closer sense, the relation of the citizen with government. Government is the organ of the social organization, the embodiment of the social order, the largest generalization of the faculties and activities of humankind, in an association of all for the good of each — the community, the common-weal, the common-wealth, the state, the nation. It is a natural evolution, and among some animals, as the beaver, the ant, the bee, a high degree of communal life, involving a *quasi* government, is developed in obedience to instinct. As in economics and society man fulfills his private relations with his fellows, so in politics he fulfills his public relations. The art of politics concerns every man and woman in the community, whether in sharing the active duties of the citizen, or in helping to make public opinion, or in fulfilling that highest and most honorable of callings, under a true politics, the service of the state as a representative of the people.

Government

For the greatest nation, like all organizations, is made up of atoms — the individual

Public Opinion the controlling Factor

citizens. The aggregate, or average, of their opinions makes public opinion, which, by more or less direct action, is in modern states finally the controlling factor. In politics as in gravitation, in the destiny of a nation as in the shaping of the universe, each atom counts. In the court of the public each man is a juror. Even the citizen who, in a representative government, fails to go to the polls, exercises responsibility and influence negatively, and his abstinence may give the "casting vote" its power. No modern man can evade his responsibility for the state of which he is a part. Each man is to have his fair chance. But he, and all others, get this chance only as he, and all others, do their individual duty.

The Citizen's Right and Duty

It is of first importance in politics as an art of life that the citizen should truly know and rightly face his right and duty, and do his part in his government, and appreciate its relations with him. For he shapes it and it shapes him. It is delusive to assume that government arose from "social compact" in a primitive and lofty age, and has degenerated under the usurpations of despotic monarchs, and takes care of itself and is bound to come out right when again it becomes a

"free democracy." A government, like a man, is a growth, made by many influences — in the large view a growth upward, but ever needing alert watchfulness to keep it to the highest standard of its actual possibilities. A monarchy may be among the most liberal, a democracy among the most despotic, of governments. In government, as in all else, the letter may be one, and the spirit other.

Form and Fact in Government

To know a government, we must ask indeed not only what is the form in which it has historically developed, but more vitally where is the sovereignty and who are masters, what is the public service and how it is controlled, what are the functions and ends of the government. The form may be of monarchy, aristocracy, democracy; simple or highly differentiated into executive, legislative, judicial relations; with or without councils, one, two, or more, and departmental divisions; defined by a written constitution, or only by custom, tradition, the national spirit. The sovereignty may be theoretically with a king or with the people; and the mastery practically with a usurper or the king's advisers or a parliament, or with a party, a cabal, a plutocracy, a "ring," or a "boss." The public service may be of

capable, experienced, trained, skilled statesmen and employees, or of "politicians" who have made that word of honor into a by-word, and of "heelers" "out of a job." The servants may be deliberately, wisely, discriminatively selected by the masters, and promptly and easily controlled; or the house politic may be given over to the servants, ruling the masters from below. The purpose and function of a government may be to protect each man in his rights and liberties and do no more, or to conduct and control the business as well as political affairs of the social organization. To know what our government really is, all these questions must be faced and answered. The large workings of large laws at once reveal themselves, but in and with and of these is the influence of the individual — the atom which, responsive to gravitation, makes up the motion of the mass.

Kinship and Neighborhood

The simplest government of early times was that of the family or home by the parent, the natural head. This is the primal molecule of society, uniting the personal atoms. As in chemistry, molecules of like kind form a simple substance, and molecules of unlike kinds, placed in chemical association, become

organized into a complex substance from which the higher organization proceeds, so from the social molecule two types of government were evolved, the first based on kinship, the family, the rule of race, tribal government; the later based on neighborhood, the home, the rule of place, local government. The early pastoral peoples, living in tents, wandering with their herds, fighting if need be for fresh feeding-grounds, mobilized, warlike, aggressive, led by the patriarch or by the head-man who succeeded, developed a centralized, military government, in its nature hereditary or successive, aristocratic, despotic. As men became more and more fixed in one place, tilling their own fields, dwelling in their own homes, settled, peaceful, defensive, battling only with nature or for their own rights, there was developed the localized, civil government, in its nature selective or elective, democratic, free. Our English speech reflects these types indeed in two sets of words: the one relating to the family or kin — as king or kinman, kingdom; captain, chieftain, meaning head (*caput*) man; soverain, meaning the superior (*superanum*) or supreme man; emperor, meaning commander (*imperator*), empire; realm, regal,

Two Types in Language

royal, from *rex*, the ruler ; nation, those born (*natus*) of one nativity ; the other relating to the home or land — as town, meaning a fenced place or inclosure (*toun*) ; burgh (from burrow), a place of shelter, burgher ; city, citizen, civil, civic, from a form (*civis*) cognate with *quies*, meaning a quiet or rest place, the hive or home ; domicile, a little or private home (*domus*), domain, dominion ; state (*status*) or estate. The struggles of these two types have produced many of the great conflicts of history, and in most cases the resultant between the two forces, under the various conditions of each nation, gives that nation to-day its actual and distinctive form of government. So, in speech, the two sets of words have mingled, although in our American Union the word "state," retained for the territorial units, and the word "nation," used for the centralized power, have much of their distinctive significance.

Race- and Place-governments

The dominance of the race-idea survived in the characteristics of the Arab tribes, the Jewish nation, the Latin races, the Scotch and Irish clans ; of the place-idea in Greece, Russia, Germany, Holland, England, America. The children of Israel, a nomad people, losing identity and patriarchal government

when settled in the land of Egypt, were roused from the sleep of serfdom by their greatest of leaders and trained anew, under their theocratic government, by their wanderings in the wilderness and by the ruthless command to destroy the heathen of their new land, to become the great representative of the race-idea, homeless, yet a nation in the midst of nations. In modern history, especially, types cross and forms mingle: France, racial and military, has the semblance of a republic; Germany, a birthplace of freedom, and Russia, land of the democratic *mir* and of local self-government, are to-day ruled by despotic monarchs in conflict with the people; England, a democracy, has the form of monarchy and empire; America, a democratic republic, restricts immigration and denies its presidency to those of alien birth. But, in the large historic view, the nations first-named have been the "subjects" or clannish devotees of a tribal or personal government, conquerors for the sake of conquest, marauders for the value of the prey: the countries last-named have been the homes of free men, revolting against tyrants in defense of their homes and rights, organized in village community, town, city, state, for local home-rule

Conquerors and Colonists

by the people, colonists rather than conquerors, establishing self-governing colonies and waging war and annexing territory chiefly to maintain or safeguard them. Splendid were the flashing triumphs of the Cæsars, the Moors, Napoleon, Spain, but their glories faded before the staying power of the homeland peoples, amalgamating and assimilating many races in a fatherland of adoption and planting colonies of peaceful dominion. Russia when emancipated, Germany freed, England bulwarked by self-governing colonies, and in danger only when strength overrides justice and strangles development, America if she can preserve the spirit of free democracy, rejecting alike plutocracy and socialism, — these mark the survival of the fittest in government and enter the twentieth century as leaders of the world.

The Greek Cities

As the Greek cities, at first the residence of the head of a family or a king of tribes, grew to be the home of a settled citizenry, the city (Greek *polis*, whence our word "politics"), though still made up by *gens* or families, became itself the state. Their history caused Aristotle to consider government a cycle of changes, first monarchy, the rule of "one," degenerating into tyranny; this over-

come by aristocracy, the rule of a "best" class, in turn degenerating into oligarchy, its abuse by the "few;" that overborne by democracy, the rule of the people, in its turn degenerating into anarchy, the "no-rule" of the mob, and suppressed by the strong hand of a new monarch. But the Athenian democracy was never the rule of a majority of all, but a government of classes, into which the suburbans, "men of the mountains" a few miles north, and "men of the shore" a few miles south from Athens, forced their way only after long struggle, and which always excluded not only slaves but many free dwellers within the walls. And ancient government in all its forms was a collectivism, in which the citizen was the servant of the state rather than the state the agent of the citizen. Within the city, and among the cities leagued together, there was delegated government, in which various functions were delegated to many officials and councils; but representative government, by which distant peoples could take part in action at a political centre, was unknown to the ancients, and the great city of Rome, developing from the type of the Greek city into the dominion of an empire, fell before the demoralization

Ancient Government a Collectivism

of its democracy and the weight of its vast possessions, into imperialism, decadence, and death.

The Teutonic Tribes

When the Teutonic tribes, developed in the democratic system of their village communities, but still retaining their tribal mobility and their allegiance to their war-leaders, overwhelmed Rome, the grants of estates made by kings to their barons, conditioned on military service, developed the feudal system which made possible the transition to the modern state. A hierarchy of nobles, among whom the king was chief baron, began to wrest from the sovereign charters or concessions limiting or defining personal sovereignty and recognizing rights of self-government and home-rule. Beginning with Magna Charta, truly the great writing of Anglo-Saxon liberty, this process of limitation of the central power, of separation of functions, of analysis, answering to a centrifugal force in government, has evolved in England a democracy preserving the semblance of a monarchy, limited by a constitution unwritten save in "the common law." Thus the political rights of man have been affirmed, and the freeman has succeeded, in fact if not in name, the subject.

In New England the process was the reverse. The settlers, freemen presently in name as in fact, banded settlements into colonies, leagued these into federations, united states into a nation, surrendering at each step to the central government a delegated authority over its local constituents. This process of synthesis, obeying a centripetal force in government, has developed in our democratic republic a trend toward an autocracy, unrecognized by law and irresponsible, which makes possible party domination, the "boss" and the plutocrat in politics. As England, a monarchy, has become more democratic, America, a republic, has become more despotic. Public opinion, in England, responsive to a "question" asked in the Commons, controls Parliament and the Crown; but a party boss, in America, compels a legislature or an executive to defy the popular will, trusting to forgetfulness at the next election, as no prime minister could do. Russia, developed like America by aggregation from its local communities, the democratic *mir*, has become centralized by like process into the most despotic autocracy of the age, and the centrifugal force re-asserts

The New England Process

itself in seething though suppressed revolution.

Direct democratic Government

The simplest form of direct democratic government, "of the people, by the people, for the people," is the New England town meeting. In the village community, as in Athens of old, the voters themselves meet, debate, vote their decisions, and select men to execute them. That is possible and adequate only for neighborhood affairs, known directly to all. This is not representative, but direct government; free and full discussion is invited; the minority is expected to make itself usefully heard. But the town meeting cannot meet continuously or often; it cannot decide on matters outside its neighborhood, in which other people are concerned. The select-men come to represent it between whiles; it presently elects representatives to join with those from other places in deciding matters common to all.

Representative Government

Thus representative government begins. When the representatives meet, it is, at the first stage, as a deputized town meeting. But the deputies have not the common interest nor the specific knowledge from which to act. Committees are appointed to make

specific inquiries and recommend action. As questions become more numerous and more complex, the representative is less able to decide for himself: "government by committee" begins. Meanwhile, large questions develop, on which men divide into parties; and "government by party" crosses government by committee. As a legislature, or "general court," or congress, or parliament makes decisions for the people in the form of "laws," it is necessary to have administrative officers to execute these decisions, and as questions arise of interpretation or application of a constitution, written or traditional, or of a law, it is necessary to have judicial officers to determine them. Thus the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of government are differentiated.

Territorial Functions

As the scope of government broadens, geographically and otherwise, beyond the village and township functions, there results finally another differentiation based on territorial grounds. The villages or towns, or in the South the landed estates which formed its unit of settlement, are aggregated into the county or shire, originally a semi-tribal kind of government which we have inherited from England. The State, originating from the

early colonies or amalgamations of them, or developed from "territories" as these were settled, represents the sovereignty of the people and is supreme, except as the united States have delegated their larger powers, especially in foreign relations, to our federal nation. Thus have come into being the complexities and cross-lines of our governments, unparalleled elsewhere, amidst which the individual citizen is too often confused in his duties or misled by selfish or errant leaders. This complexity is increased by the development of the modern city.

Municipal Government

As the modern city has evolved from the village, the town, its complex conditions present intricate questions of business administration which neither the people at large nor legislative bodies can effectively handle. A municipality does not need to pass laws, but only to make and enforce regulations, in their nature specific and technical. Aldermen, councils, municipal legislatures and assemblies, with general functions, have in practice proved useless bodies in cities, prone to degenerate into corruption. Successful municipal government follows the type of corporate industrial organizations, organized to do business. The citizens are

the shareholders, whose function is to decide large lines of policy and to obtain capable executive ability to execute their will. In a great city, questions of street construction and maintenance, sewers, water supply, fire prevention, lighting, police, sanitation, buildings, bridges, and the like, are engineering and administrative problems requiring the highest technical experience and skill, utterly different from questions of domestic policy or foreign relations which are the concern of State and nation, and altogether apart from state or national party divisions. The proper method of municipal government is one which makes it easy for the people to decide, by popular vote, what they will do and pay for collectively and what they will leave to private enterprise, and then to provide for capable business skill to administer the collective enterprises. In England municipal development is more or less under the centralized and continuous control of a national "Board of Trade;" in America the "charters" of cities presume "home-rule," but party interference from state legislatures is rather the rule than the exception.

The proper Method

Thus in the modern evolution of government there has come to be a gradation of

Gradation of Governments

governments within one country, from the national or general government representing the citizens in relation to foreign powers and in general domestic interests, to the local or municipal government which administers as to the necessities or conveniences of neighborhood life, with intermediate governments of which in America the most notable is the State, sovereign within its territory, but delegating external and interstate authority to the federation of the United States. It is of the very essence of good government that each grade of government should have its functions and purposes clearly differentiated from other grades, and that the intermediate grades should not be multifarious and confusing, to the perplexity of the voter-citizen. The criss-cross of administrative districts in England, and the multiplicity of elective officers in America, are serious obstacles to intelligent participation in and control of government by the individual.

What is a Nation?

The question "What is a nation?" is in itself not of simple answer, for it requires recognition of the complex and subtle forces which make each nation what it is. Rivers were of old the boundary lines of countries,

but with steam the waterways are highways, uniting and not dividing, and the physical seat of a nation is rather the valleys of great river systems, from source to sea, bounded by the mountain barriers. Thus Germany must have from France its other side of the Rhine, to complete the German fatherland. But neither place nor race alone to-day makes or determines a nation. A modern authority defines the state as the politically organized people of a particular land. Race-tendency, the heat line, climate, the physical environment, the standard of comfort, the education of the people, literature and art, the character and influence of leaders, belief, customs, — all these make the life and direct the growth of a nation, in short make the nation. Conquest or federation may indeed bring within the dominion of a nation territory and peoples not truly a part of it, as Poland captured by Russia and Hungary linked with Austria, or partition may separate natural compatriots, as Belgium from France. The ideal nation is of one people speaking the same tongue, having the same customs, dwelling in one fatherland as in Germany, or assimilated into an adopted country as in America. The kind and

amount, the quality and quantity, of government proper to each community develop from these conditions, and their careful study is the first requisite of the art of politics, of politics as an art of life, of *practical* politics in fact.

Sovereignty

Under all forms of government, "sovereignty," or supremacy, is the defining test of state or nation. For the doctrine of sovereignty, though originating from race and personal government, has been applied in fullest extent to place and democratic government — in fact marks the culmination and union of both. It is founded on the theory of absolute rule by an infallible ruler who has supreme right over the lives and property of his "subjects." "The king can do no wrong" and therefore cannot be sued; he owns all the land and can therefore exercise right of "eminent domain;" he can require his people to defend him, even with their lives and all their fortune, and can therefore draft them into military service and levy war taxes to the full of their wealth. No person in civilized countries now believes in this "divine right" of kings — except the Emperor of Germany, and his people do not agree with him. Yet it remains the theo-

retic basis of statehood, tempered in England by traditional and evolutionary limitations, and transferred with independence to our own States. With us there is no personal government and "each man is a sovereign." But "the people," that is, all the people together, are sovereign, and have all rights over each person, and they exercise this sovereignty through the State, except so far as the States have unitedly delegated or transferred this sovereignty to the federated nation. The State, and not the United States, is sovereign over, that is, finally owns, all the land inside its boundaries, and within the provisions of the constitution requiring adequate compensation can take private land for public use, either for itself or for such *quasi*-public use as by a railroad corporation. Neither a State nor the United States can be sued by a citizen, who must have recourse to the device of suing a government official through whom any wrong has been done. Citizens may be required, by draft, to expose their lives for the common defense, though not for external war, by either state or federal government; and each, within its constitutionally prescribed field, may levy taxes to any necessary extent. This nation has indeed carried

The People sovereign

The Extreme of Sovereignty

the doctrine of sovereignty to its extreme extent, by assuming that sovereignty can be acquired by purchase, as in the case of the Philippines, and considering those who do not agree to the transfer as "rebels" against constituted authority. In our domestic affairs, we are protected against abuse of this sovereign power by the specific limitations of a written constitution, determining the limitations of the power both of State and nation, as by the right of *habeas corpus*, the provision that property shall not be taken save by due process of law, and the limitation of militia duty to home defense. In a federated or federal government, sovereignty is thus partitioned by agreement, and the central power becomes usually the seat of sovereignty in its foreign relations with other sovereignties.

Not Force but social Order the Basis

As sovereignty can be enforced to the extreme, it is commonly assumed that both law and government rest in the last analysis upon force, or immediately upon fear of force. But this is like saying that health rests upon fear of disease. It is acquiescence in the social order which makes government possible and is its foundation. All communities are more or less self-governing: most peo-

ple behave themselves, mind their own business, respect the rights of their fellows, and do not require the attention of the police. Otherwise, the task of government would be well-nigh impossible, and anarchy would be in sight. Even barbarous tribes find the self-restraint which is the first condition of their progress, in the rudimentary but all-powerful government of customary law, habit, and superstition; while the peoples of higher moral development and organization find statutory law and punishment necessary chiefly for that minority constituting the criminal class. The great body of men do not transgress laws, if they are laws of nature and of "common sense," but respect them unwritten. Thus government becomes more and more a formalized adjustment of complex relations growing up with the complexities of civilization. These adjustments can be made only by general agreement, and thus in the progress of the world the best and most stable form of government has come to be that which develops self-government in the highest degree and promotes a wholesome public opinion to which the administrators are quickly responsive. England lost her American colonies, and has had chronic trouble

Self-government

with Ireland, because she failed to afford them adequate measure of home-rule, while she has succeeded in maintaining relations with Canada and Australia by developing their self-government ; and her dangers in the East are because the iron hand still rules in India and outbreaks follow the disregard of the natural government of the native peoples. As that education is best which develops a man to self-government, in accord with natural law, so it would seem that form of government is best which develops a self-governing community, in accord with natural law.

Selection of public Officers

Under any and every form of government, and not least in the highly organized communities where self-government is most developed, there must be selection of those who are to do the actual work of administration. Every engine, however truly built, requires an engineer to run it, every machine some one to keep it in repair. No engine is of use without a good engineer, and no machinery of government without good administrators. A good engineer may do more with a poor engine than a poor engineer with a good engine ; a fit monarch may be better

than an unfit president. An all-important question in the art of government is how the selection of its administrators shall be made.

Now the process of natural selection must vary according to what is to be selected. In simple pastoral life, the man of greatest experience, of length of years, the patriarch, was the fit ruler. In fighting times, under hereditary rule, if the king's heir did not prove himself a good fighter, he was replaced by force of arms or displaced by polite device, and the great captain, the real commander, succeeded to the real headship. But under the complex relations of modern government these simple processes are not adequate. In a given form of government, the best government is government by the best, the most fit, men. If aristocracy were as good as its word, if class government were government by the best class, it would have earned the right to survive. But it has not so proved. Carlyle put forth a simple and sufficing recipe for good government in "Find your Hero and obey him." This again is the best government, the rule of the best. But first, to catch your hare, or your Hero — how shall that be done? It is

The Process of Selection

The Hero Recipe

in this first question that the rub comes, and this simple recipe fails. Carlyle was quite ready indeed to name the Hero, — but his choice was not always beyond impeachment. It becomes evident that the Hero must somehow be selected, or elected, and Democracy is, on the whole, the best instrument yet devised to that end.

Democracy not a Count of Noses

If, indeed, Democracy were but a count of noses, there might be more reason to despair of it. But humankind is not organized on that basis. The Declaration of Independence, in asserting that all men are created equal, means equal before the law. Otherwise it would put Democracy and all government on a false basis, not in accord with fact. For men do not wear hats of the same size, nor can any Declaration or other means bring them to that equality. They differ in quality as well as in quantity of brains; and education, which can do much, cannot overcome born differences. If every man is as good as another and a little better, it is anarchy, no-headedness, that is in sight. Who shall be rulers, and who ruled — this is as much a question to Democracy as to any form of government. It is fraternity, the brotherhood of man, that forms an actual

basis for Democracy. And in government, as in the family itself, as in all forms of organization, there must be division of labor, according to capabilities. As the ruler is no longer the chief fighter, he can no longer fight himself into rule; the ballot has been devised to select him.

An essential of Democracy is therefore the free play of that leadership which always exists among men, no matter how few. "There's naught men crave so much as leadership." But leadership, like most attributes of humanity, is a relative quality: there is no set line between leaders and led. Each man is a leader to some of his fellows, and looks to others or to some other, avowedly or unconsciously, as his leader. Thus a democratic state is built together. The communist, seeking equality of property and person, seeks first a leader toward his destructive millennium who will preach down leadership while he fulfills it. It is a fact that this natural and necessary leadership is often more actively asserted, particularly in modern city life, by lower than by upper men, and this reversal is one of the failures of Democracy. **Leadership**

There is no doubt that Democracy has had its failures. But no system of government

Democracy the highest Type

devised by and for humanity has been without failures — and, on the whole, greater failures. This is but saying that humanity is not perfect. Kings never governed so wisely but that, sooner or later, they must be discrowned; emperors but that their empires must be sundered. The hybrid rule of aristocracy was but an unstable equilibrium that presently became the rule of the one or the rule of the many. Democracy, after all, is the resultant of the political law of gravitation. It is an early form of government; it is also, in the evolution of civilization, the highest and perhaps the final type. It is the only type in which the pyramid stands on its base, not on its apex.

Development toward Democracy

For all modern states of high development approach with more or less rapidity democratic rule. In Germany, the Emperor, holding to his theory of personal sovereignty in face of events, fights a losing battle against parliamentary government, and the signs of the times point to the resurrection of democracy in Russia, following the emancipation of the serfs and an increasing freedom of thought and of speech, redeeming that great land from autocratic power. In England, constitutional monarchy survives because it

is no other than a democracy. The Crown has no will against the people's will — that were high treason, were it still worth while to cut off kings' heads. The Lords can do no more than move arrest of judgment, and set the Commons to think twice. Because England has developed into a democracy which is not also a republic, let us not haggle about names: let rather this democracy and that democracy compare notes, to see what in the other's system may better its own.

Universal Suffrage

And the tendency is not only toward Democracy, but toward the extreme of universal suffrage. There are fond mothers who wish the universe were so constructed that children might learn to swim before they dare the water, and timorous statesmen wish that universal suffrage might not come until the people are trained to it. Nature insists on the heroic method; it is her way because it is the only way. It is for parents, by alert care, to prevent danger; it is for the educated, in like manner, to assist the ignorant against their ignorance. Undoubtedly, there is danger. The sudden revolutions of republicanizing, not yet republican, France, illustrate the danger. The history of our Southern States since the civil war illustrates the dan-

ger. It is real. But it is not overwhelming. Responsibility can only be learned through responsibility. And it is never illiteracy that has the casting vote: that belongs with the men who, thinking, lead. If they will — of course, if they will! If they will not, it is not for them to cast stones.

Woman Suffrage

Suffrage has been associated historically with the more active, the male sex. As the passive sex has become more active, woman suffrage has become a practical question. Since women have claimed and won the right to earn their living, to hold property, to run the state, their right to vote seems indeed a logical sequence. It is perhaps a question whether it is worth while to add to womankind this burden of responsibility, to add to the suffrage this increase of machinery, by a duplication which might avail little and would cost much. With the woman of conscience, of education, of high purpose, adding her vote to that of the best men, must come also to the polls the woman of degradation, of ignorance, ready to sell her vote as she sells herself. The influence of woman in politics need be no less vital because she does not take mechanical part in voting; if she, as mother, wife, sister, daughter, calls

to the manhood of the nation to come up higher, it responds. There could be no war in a nation where women opposed war, save when, for the defense of homes and honor, men and women alike responded, each in their way, to the nation's need.

Precautions needed for Democracy

The form of government evolved for our day is thus a democracy of universal suffrage, responsive to responsible leaders. The method of government must accordingly provide against unintelligent and hasty action by the crowd under intoxication of brute impulse or bad leadership, and provide for the selection and direction of fit and true leaders. A wide and wholesome education, that shows the real relations underlying mere surface relations, is thus the first need of Democracy. America early recognized this fact by her system of common schools. The founders of the American Constitution, whom experience has proved to be among the wisest of men, prescribed many checks against hot-blooded action by the people, some of which have proved most effective and others singularly ineffective. Sir Henry Maine speaks of the safeguards over the amendment of the Constitution, requiring now the concurrent

action of a hundred legislative chambers or the people of nearly fifty States; of the functions of the Supreme Court; of the denial to the States of power to impair the obligations of contracts — as "like those dams and dikes . . . controlling the course of a mighty river which begins amid mountain torrents, and turning it into one of the most equable watercourses in the world." Contrariwise, the electoral college does not elect: it proves but an awkward device that complicates matters. The executive was intended to be independent of Congress; but the power of confirmation vested in the upper house, through the spoils system, "courtesy of the Senate," tenure-of-office laws, soon developed dependence. The Senate itself, contrived to prevent bad laws, has served to obstruct good ones: it has become not an aristocracy conserving, but a plutocracy opposing, which is not good. The upper house, in many state legislatures, is the stronghold of corruption. The alternative method of electing United States senators by state legislatures, adopted in preference to direct election by the people of the State, has promoted the election of state legislators on national party lines, and every three years has subordinated

Checks upon Government

questions of state business to the choice of a senator. The representatives were not to take office at once, lest they should be too hot from the people: but it has more than once happened that the people in an election showed cool common sense which they could not apply in Congress till another year of down-hill legislation had passed. Congress itself is so alarmed as to the bad things that it may do that it ties and twists itself up in red-tape rules which prevent it from doing good and needed things. The supreme judiciary, devised to steady the government and right Congress, has reversed its decisions from a packed bench, and has been accused, in its legal-tender decisions, of telling Congress it can do what it pleases with the Constitution. It has been said that our checks on government check government.

Parties

In the evolution of government, and especially of democratic government, political "parties" have been developed as the means of expressing the will of the people. In a sense, they have existed under all governments; in the grand prophetic books of the Bible can be heard the clash of opposing parties in Israel, one for alliance with Egypt,

the other for alliance with Assyria, while the prophet-statesman Isaiah, the reformer and "mugwump" of his time, pleaded for a patriotic self-reliance "whose strength is to sit still." The "fathers of the Republic," as is seen in the original provision of the Constitution by which the one second in the vote for President should become Vice-President, looked forward to a unanimous and millennial patriotism, in which parties should be no more. But the unanimous election of Washington and the "era of good feeling" in which Madison was elected with but one dissenting vote were soon followed by party dissensions which tore that theory to tatters. Patriotism rests on common agreement; parties spring from mutual disagreement. Patriots disagree as to what principle or policy *is* patriotism — hence parties. So long as voters differ as to what is best for the state, parties exist. They are a natural evolution, not an artificial invention — as those think who would "abolish" parties to cure their evils. Parties are the means by which the people themselves, self-organized, shape their own issues, by formulating the principles and naming the candidates for or against whom voters are to vote. The alternative

A natural Evolution

of having issues shaped by government officials, as for the French *plebiscite*, gives a bureaucracy or a ministry undue power, and is contrary to democratic method. The *referendum*, or direct vote of the people in place of decision by representatives, and the direct initiative by the people in proposing laws, would in no wise dispense with parties. The use of parties is to enable each voter to say, in a way easy to him, what he wants his government to do. The more fully we recognize that parties are our natural methods of deciding political issues, the better should their function be fulfilled.

Non-party Decisions

When, on any subject, a whole community is of one mind, there can be no "party question." If the great body of the people wills to have something done, it is done; machinery cannot stand in the way; it gets done, despite all. Such questions solve themselves: they cannot become "issues." For "the common defense" parties unite and division disappears; even in foreign wars, of expansion or conquest, the public mind is apt for the time to decry as "traitors" those who oppose what they think "criminal aggression." An administration seldom fails to get a practically unanimous vote, in Congress or

Parliament, for war supplies; difference between countries belittles and overwhelms differences within country. It is only when two contestants are of unknown or fairly mated strength that there is a struggle. A nearly even division is the *sine qua non* of party: otherwise the overwhelming majority has its way. This is why there are usually two great parties, and no more, and these nearly equal in voting strength.

Political Campaigns

Parties furnish the means to enable some men to vote on one side, other men to vote on the other side, of a question in dispute. Thus an "issue" is made. When a vote is taken, on a principle or policy at issue, the voting must be for or against, "yes" or "no." On a constitutional amendment, voters do vote "yes" or "no" at the polls, but on most questions they record themselves on either side by naming on their ballots the nominees who take the same view that they take. In a natural, normal, "ideal" party system, two parties, confronting each other in candid and honest disagreement, state each in its "platform" the principles it represents and the policy it proposes, and nominate fit men pledged to enact or execute the will of the people expressed in their election. A politi-

cal campaign is then a great educational process for all the people, a common school of statesmanship, in which by public meetings, through the press, and in personal debate, each voter may inform himself, "make up his mind," and cast his conscience vote.

Re-form of Parties

But parties may fail of their purpose, and need to be supplanted or re-formed. As the Constitution permits amendment by which the framework of our government may be modified, so our party system permits change in the policy or personnel of government. When the great parties ignore or evade the real question on which people want to vote, or becloud the paramount issue of the hour by multifarious confusion of issues, or when they treat party as not a means but an end, or subordinate patriotism to party-ism, overthrow from without or reform from within becomes necessary to one or both.

Third-party Movements

Then a new party or third party may be needed, to do the work of the chemical reagent which re-arranges molecules and effects new combinations in matter. The early statesmen, the politicians of later days, evaded the issue of slavery until their evasion nearly lost us our country; and with the watchword of liberty, the Republican

party supplanted the Whig party and saved the Union at the awful cost of civil war. The early Abolitionists preferred to "throw away their votes" as a protest party, because what was to their minds the most vital of issues was ignored, and thus to open the way for a party which would face the issue which the great parties evaded. So also the present Prohibitionists, the labor men, the Irish Nationalists in the English Parliament — fanatics willing to be political martyrs in a great cause! Thus a third party, reckless of present success, builds for the future, hoping by its initiative to become one of two great parties, or to bring one of the existing great parties to accept its views. As a "dominant minority," holding the balance of power, able by alliance with one of the great parties or by opposition to give the "casting vote," such a party may become a most effective element in active politics, wholesome or destructive, vitalizing or corrupting, far beyond its numerical strength. Or, when a great party fails to realize in its policy its declared principles, or loses purpose and seeks only to perpetuate its power as an "organization" or "machine," or nominates men untrue to its principles or unfit to

represent the people, then also a "reform" vote by those dissatisfied with their own party, and not in agreement with the opposing party, has its use. Thus the "scratching" Republicans of 1879, "voting in the air" to clear the air — not the assassins but the physicians of their party — using abstention as a warning silence! Thus the Independents or "mugwumps" of 1884, uniting with their opponents to elect a Democratic President in protest against what they thought an unfit nomination! Thus the "gold Democrats" of 1896, helping to elect a Republican President in the interest of "honest money" and "sound currency!" A third party is, in theory as in fact, always a makeshift to supplant or to reform one of two great parties, a bridge by which to cross to firmer ground.

"Groups"

Disintegration of the party system sets in when one party becomes so large that its victory seems sure, inviting corruption, jealousies and divisions, or where both parties break into "groups." For years the dominant party in New York city was divided into "halls," one of which allied itself with the common enemy when it could not get its terms from the ruling faction of its own

party. In European legislative bodies, "groups" of the Right, the Center, and the Left, in shifting and shifty alliances, control policies and make or unmake ministries, until too often principles are forgotten in bargains for place. Some observers count this a normal development of the party system, but it seems rather to show the deadness of decadence — to be revivified into wholesome two-sided division when the breath of a live question fans the coals. For government by "groups" becomes a government by cabal, and belittles the influence of the individual by confusing the effect of his vote.

The Misuse of Parties

The abuse of parties is to make them not a means but an end, to put party before *patria*, party-ism first, patriotism second. This is that law of death which nature makes part of the greater law of life. Party crystallizes into organization, and the organization seeks to perpetuate itself. The statesmen, the voters, who would realize principles into action, find the machinery no longer their instrument but their master; the chief engineer has usurped the captain's place, and is running the ship to suit his pirate crew instead of bringing his passengers into the haven where they would be. The "profes-

sional politician" is not free from the narrowing tendencies of the professional mind. As the doctor boasts the skill of his operation rather than the saving of life, the lawyer thinks of the precedents for his case rather than the wide principles of justice, the minister emphasizes joining the church rather than living the Christ-life, so he has in mind the saving of the party rather than the saving of the country. Thus he avoids facing the paramount issue on which voters want to vote, lest the majority should be against his party; confuses the mind and throws dust in the eyes of the public by phrasing political platitudes, raising multitudinous issues, avoiding specific proposals of party action, and abusing the "record" of the other party instead of asserting the principles of his own; and nominates men who represent the absence of principle but who wear the party uniform and shout for loyalty to the old flag. Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned his countrymen against the misuse of parties as "potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unscrupulous men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying, afterward,

the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion." This is prophecy of the modern party "boss," over-lording his own party, and supported by his fellow of the opposing party through the "cohesive influence of public plunder" or the necessary alliance of political powers, — a situation met at last by revolt of the body of the people against the usurpers of popular rights, the more dangerous the longer it is deferred.

Continuity of Parties

In a Greek democracy or a New England town meeting, where all may meet together, parties may make and break, as the issue comes, holding together so long as the need remains and no longer, whether it be for a century or a day. But in a great nation of over fifteen million voters, and polling nearly fourteen million votes, where there is more or less geographical or other difference as to what should be the paramount issue, where a party must include seven million voters, living three thousand miles apart, a party cannot be organized in the twinkling of an eye, or in a single campaign. A high degree and wide range of organization is required to make clear the principles on which, and designate the men for or against whom, this enormous number of votes is

to be cast. Our parties must have geographical unity and historical persistence; sectional feeling, the passion of the moment, is happily inadequate to their formation. With all its disadvantages, this is practically one of our most important national safeguards.

Yet it is on the fluency of parties that their usefulness and the safety of the state depend. As the ocean tides sway the drops of water, so parties should attract by their principles the suffrages of voters, and thus give flexibility, and the means of purification, to government. Rome fell before internal corruption and external attack because her government lacked adaptiveness and righting power; only the overwhelming by new and cleaner blood could wash out her stains. Our government may endure the longer, because we can use parties, one against another, to alter or reverse policy within our constitutional forms without revolution and to purge the state of corruption. Parties fall, the Republic survives. To accomplish this, we must be alert to prevent corruption within parties, to re-form them on vital issues, to overwhelm them when corrupt. It is in this way, by the free and prompt transfer of votes,

Fluency of Parties

whether one by one, or through a third party, that our nation is kept safe and alive. The successive reversals of party success in the four Presidential elections of 1884 to 1896 proved how safely and successfully this can be done. But there is yet a simpler way in which the individual citizen may have his influence in the body politic, — by his part in the forming of public opinion. A shower of letters in the morning mail on the desks of legislators has carried or defeated many a measure, and a president has been influenced on the larger questions of policy by the huzzas of the crowd. The good citizen who would have good government must see to it that the visible and audible expressions of public opinion represent the higher and not the lower thought of the nation.

National and local Issues

Under democratic government, it is of first importance that real issues should be put cleanly and clearly to popular vote. Our differentiation into national, state, and local governments, as well as our division into parties, affords this opportunity. The broad field of national party should see clear lines drawn on the "paramount issue" in national affairs, as slavery, or a protective or

revenue tariff, or the standard of money, or the annexation of territory. A local contest is on quite other lines, and chiefly as to questions such as how far the town or city shall undertake public works, or what should be its policy as to the liquor traffic. Yet, since national party organization must have its roots in district or local organization, it is usually through the local machinery of national parties, both in America and England, that local issues are shaped; and party names and cries are used to influence votes on whether or not to build a new road or start a new school. A curious result has been that in two of our States voters of the same party name may take exactly opposite sides of a state issue, as when in one State the Republican party was for and the Democratic party against prohibition, while in another in the same campaign the relations were reversed. This incidental evil of the party system is thus in a measure its own corrective, for it should teach voters to vote irrespective of party name on real issues, first on local and finally on national questions, and thus promote fluency of parties and responsiveness within them to public opinion.

Party Cries

If the people, by help of parties, are to

Issues should be few and simple

decide what they will have done, by electing men who will enact or execute their will, it is evident that the issues put before them should be few and simple. Only those, therefore, need be elected who are as legislators or executives to define or execute a political policy. Those who are to administer justice, as judges, sheriffs, district attorneys; those who are to do routine public business, as assessors, clerks, "civil servants" in general, whose functions are all essentially non-partisan, may better be selected by appointment, or by business examination, or by agreement among parties, rather than by competitive election at the polls. Intelligent choice cannot be made by the voter for scores of offices. The courts of highest judicial function which interpret constitutions and laws are removed by the federal constitution from popular election, lest calm and wise judgment be biased by party controversy, and partisan appointments of judges by the executive have been violations of its spirit.

Deposition by popular Vote

We lack for our democracy a feature which Athens had crudely in its ostracism — a method of deposition by popular vote either of an elected or appointed officer, by which

two-thirds or three-fourths of the voters, a number far beyond party divisions, could deprive an unworthy or unrepresentative officer of his place and deny him reëlection, so that the people of a State could recall their senator, or of a city could remove their mayor or any officer so unworthy as to have lost public confidence to that extent.

Periods of Transition

It is too often true that the everlasting "yea" and the everlasting "nay," as Carlyle has it, can be much beclouded and confused in that foggy present where no stars shine clear. There are transitional periods when parties represent nothing. The past issue is past, the next issue they cannot or will not see. The ins are in, and the outs are out: that is the difference. The ins want to keep out, the outs to put out, their adversaries. Leaders who fought the old battles fear new grounds. They desire to "keep out of politics" the vital issues. Sooner or later the spark drops, the flame burns: the dead past is bid bury its dead; there are new issues, new formings of the old, new men. Meantime, however, the vitality of parties wanes, they become corrupt, they become machines for resisting instead

of promoting progress. This explains why, after a great issue had been solved by a great war, the American people set itself to petty tasks of administrative reform. Before a locomotive can make progress, broken rails must be mended, bridges rebuilt, the tracks cleared of cows. This is not inspiring work: there is nobody to oppose it — except the owners of cows. Passengers lay by, and wait for "the other people" to do the work. After the wreckage of the civil war, this was precisely the task left to the American nation: reconstruction, rehabilitation, the clearing away of the spoils system, which last was much resisted by those having vested rights in spoils. The war party lost enthusiasm in this work, and the sutlers displaced generals as leaders.

Administrative Reform

Civil service reform was the first need to set parties on the right track again. The "spoils system" made parties ends, not means. Its working tended to prevent parties shaping themselves anew to new issues. Civil service reform was not a party issue, because there was no other side. No valid defense of the spoils system could be made on which a party could "go to the people." That is true of most measures affecting gov-

The spoils System

ernmental machinery: men will disagree as to where they want to go, but they will not disagree that if they are to go anywhere the locomotive must be kept in good working order. Accordingly, struggles for administrative reform are not between parties but within parties, and chiefly within the party which, being in possession, can accomplish reform. The contest is between the men who see the real use of parties, that is, to meet questions, and the men who prefer in their own interest or inertia to keep things as they are and leave disturbing questions undecided. It is a misfortune when the nomination of unfit men turns the popular vote from public to personal issues, or when corruption makes necessary a vote upon the mere machinery of administration, or when the machinations of politicians confuse the citizen with multifarious or beclouded issues. This is but clearing away of weeds instead of growing crops. Yet when the growth of weeds chokes the land, it becomes the first business of life to root out the weeds. But this must be a continuing process, in politics as in farming. Mere machinery is of little avail. Underneath all, public opinion rules; that alone is the final check. Every machine

Conflicts within Parties

must have vitalizing force behind it; every system of spies presuppose an honest man somewhere. The people judge the judgments and rule the rulers. The supreme court is that of the whole people. Here again we reach universal suffrage, and cannot evade it.

What Government must and may do

When we ask what government is to do, two theories, of individualism and collectivism, confront us. Government *must* keep order, safeguard persons and property, define the marital and parental responsibilities on which the social order is based, determine property and contract rights and administer civil justice, prevent and punish crime, fix the political relations of citizens within the state and represent them with foreign powers. These have been called the constituent functions, those which constitute government: they simply prevent interference with the individual and make sure he is let do (*laissez faire*) as he will. Government *may* also concern itself with the administration of trade and industry, of commerce and navigation, of labor, of coinage and banks, of highways, canals, and railroads, of postal, telegraph, and telephone facilities, of water and light sup-

ply, of education, of sanitation and quarantine, of charity, of forestry and fisheries, and through sumptuary laws of the conduct and habits of the people. These have been called the ministrant functions, and they may be exercised in various degrees, — regulative, constructive, operative, — until in the extreme they culminate in the socialist organization, in which each worker is an industrial soldier working in state industries under order of government officials. These two extremes represent the two extreme theories of government. According to one, government is to *do* nothing — *laissez faire:* it is chiefly to prevent wrong by policing it. According to the other, government is to *do* everything: as the highest type of organized human coöperation, it must be paternal, constructive, and accomplish everything.

Variant Practice of Governments

In governments, as actually existing and working, particularly in the several States of the American Union and their great cities, almost every variety of combination within these extremes is indeed to be found — and this, in foreign countries, without regard to the form of government. England, a monarchy in form, is historically the champion of *laissez faire* or non-interference govern-

ment; yet it owns and operates telegraph, telephone, postal savings-bank, and parcel post systems, and has been pushed by its democracy through trades unions into extremes of factory legislation. Some English cities sell water, gas, electricity; others operate street-tramways; others afford free libraries, museums, baths, music, recreation for their citizens; London has a free ferry. Germany and Austria own and operate all their railways: France and Russia some; Italy has taken state possession of all and again put their operation under private corporations — but a private company supplies through-car facilities throughout the continent of Europe. Spain works the tobacco factories as a government monopoly, for purposes of revenue; Norwegian cities monopolize the liquor traffic in the interests of temperance. Germany provides compulsory insurance and old-age pensions for workingmen. The United States favors or taxes specific industries by means of a protective tariff. The State of New York owns and operates its great canal. It engages its prisoners in trades, though laws originating from the trades unions prevent sale of their products. All American cities maintain streets, bridges, parks, libraries, hospitals, wa-

City and national Enterprises

ter-supply; some produce, others purchase, gas or electricity. New York city has a poor fund from which free coal has been supplied.

In the last analysis, the most vital issue in politics, in most times and the world over, is this between individualism and collectivism, the question whether the individual citizen shall do all possible for himself or the collective power of the state shall do all possible for him. These lines in government correspond somewhat to those between "Protestant" and "Catholic" in religion; "Being a Catholic, I am naturally a socialist," said one man. The struggle underlies all history, for this collective power may be wielded by a monarch or in a Republic as well as under socialism, in which society undertakes to arrange the life of each citizen for the collective good, or under communism, in which each citizen is compelled to surrender his goods or his earnings for the common use. The collectivist view is that the state or sovereign is wiser for each citizen than he can be for himself, and that government should have the largest functions; the individualist view is that, since the state is made up of individuals, and can be no wiser than they, each citizen can best decide what he can do

Individualism and Collectivism

best, and so government should be confined to the least functions.

Tyranny and Anarchy

From a stage of government in which a king was actually sovereign, when the king's will was law, which he made, executed, and interpreted, when he chose his advisers and servants and cut off their heads as he pleased, when he granted "monopolies" and licensed all work and trade, up to the constitutional and democratic governments of our own times, there has indeed been a development in which the large workings of large laws, the counteraction between the centripetal and centrifugal forces in social organization, have been persistently evident, amidst all diversities of detail. The continuing struggle is that between collectivism, the power of the state, whether concentrated in kingly power or organized as democratic socialism, and individualism, the right of an individual to a free path in his affairs so long as he regards the rights of others. Tyranny is the abuse of one, anarchy is the caricature of the other. This conflict of the ages, re-forming in the past, is not less the question of the future, under re-formed democracy, and indeed is the natural line of cleavage between the parties in democracy.

Under any form of government, public opinion as to what government should do follows closely upon what, in its historical development, that government actually does do. Regulative functions are in fact so merged into operative functions that in many fields they are confused in the public mind. Americans are so used to the post as a part of government, for which large deficits are to be paid, that they overlook comparison with the not less complicated express, telegraph, and through-car service, admirably organized and self-supporting in private hands. It is not seen that the government may coin money and regulate banks without doing, as now, a banking business. In America, the coördination of national, state, and municipal or other local governments has rather subordinated the question of what government shall do, to the question which government shall do it. The line of party cleavage between those, originally Federalists, afterwards called National Republicans or Whigs, and now Republicans, who favored a strong central nation and a "broad" construction of our written constitution, and those originally Anti-Federalists, afterwards called Democratic Republicans, and now Demo-

American historical Development

crats, who favored state rights and the liberty of the individual, under a "strict" construction of the constitution, also divides in general those who would have most done and those who would have least done by the several governments, the collectivists and the individualists. But the march of events has often compelled the waiver of party principle, as when Jefferson, without constitutional warrant, purchased the Louisiana territory from France for the nation.

Neither Extreme works

In fact, neither extreme plan is in actual operation, or, absolutely applied, works. We may let well enough alone, but we will not let ill alone: the sense of brotherhood makes us to that extent our brother's keeper. But a government may be fraternal without being paternal. The schoolmaster proves the cheapest policeman. Christianity, humanity, bid us care for the sick, and if need be through the state. On the other hand, government fails when it undertakes to regulate everything by law or to monopolize or direct business. Some things laws cannot do. They are indeed nothing unless a public opinion supports them. They are nothing when they oppose themselves to human nature, to the laws of the universe.

"Prohibition does not prohibit." "Protection does not protect." To attempt too much by governmental machinery either makes the machinery our master or breaks it down.

Degenerate Democracy

A free, popular, democratic government should indeed fulfill the greatest good to the greatest number, and must abide by that test. For in a degenerate democracy, which does not accomplish this, but results in concentrating wealth and comfort in the plutocratic few, in which under a seeming individualism a real despotism has developed, the pendulum is sure to swing toward a collectivism tending toward socialism and finally toward communism, the use of the power of the state to control business, "give every man work," and distribute the social earnings among all the citizenry. This trend is strengthened on the one hand by the professional tendency of an office-holding class of "spoilsmen" to extend its operations into the commercial as well as the political field, and on the other hand, by the discontent among those who fail to get work as well as those who want money without work.

But the development of modern government has been in the struggle of the individual for

The Rights of the Individual

his own rights. The ancient monarchy was absolute; the modern monarchy is limited. The Greek aristocracy constituted the state; the English aristocracy only controlled the state. In the Greek democracy the citizen served the state: in American democracy the state serves the citizen. The evolution of government culminates thus in the Republic of Democracy, the servant and not the master of the people, preserving the public peace, protecting the right of the citizen to live his own life, responsive to public opinion, of local home-rule, differentiated functions and federated nationalty, a government truly of, by, and for the people. The citizen is not for the state, but the state for the citizen.

Socialism

Socialism is the re-action, or retrogression, which seeks to make Democracy no longer individual, but a collectivism. The citizen is not to live his own life, to mind his own business, to control his own affairs, to be his own master, but is to surrender his individuality to a collective control of private as well as public affairs, for his own good and for the good of all. The citizen is again to serve the state. It is an honest nostrum for the cure of evident present ills of demo-

cracy. But to cure those ills we have, we are to "fly to others that we know not of." The argument for socialism is a roseate assumption that because some things, as roads and streets, are effectively managed by the state, — though roads may be ill made and streets ill cleaned, — therefore the state should manage all and subordinate the citizen. The possibilities of the "boss" in a socialistic state are beyond imagining, for there are other motives than money. Socialism is the offer of a social Catholic and infallible church to give peace of mind to the perplexed Protestant willing to surrender his liberty of action to a state Pope called the People. It transfers tyranny from monarchy to democracy. It is the backward swing of the pendulum.

Taxation

In all government the question how it shall be used is doubly dependent upon the question how it shall be paid for. As money has become more and more the lever of private affairs, taxation has become more and more the problem of government. With progress, the security of the person being assured, the security of property becomes prominent. It is evident that many questions, sure to be

the live issues of ourselves and our immediate descendants, are questions of property, to be settled by taxation. The payment of the national debt, the banking system, the currency question, the revenue and tariff issue, the land question, the restriction of corporations, communism itself, to all these government must make answer in terms of taxation. On what, on whom, how and to what extent shall taxes be laid — to these simple but not very easy problems the questions of the present and the immediate future resolve themselves. Taxes are a payment by the people which may be the most productive and useful or the most wasteful and harmful of investments, according to the methods by which and the purposes for which they are used.

Social Values

Those values which result not from the labor of individual brains or hands, but from natural resources or social development, would seem to belong not so much to individuals but to the community, either for common, that is, any one's use, or for use by the state or the sovereign as the embodiment of the common-wealth. Thus the sovereign owns all the land, and titles to individual holdings trace back to "grants," and are

subject to rights of "treasure trove," of subsurface values, and in general of "eminent domain." The heroic defense in England of "commons," rights to pasturage, to hunting, to fisheries, has been against encroachments by grantees — not against the sovereign rights. A chief problem to be solved through taxation is how to retain for the people these social values without encroaching on individual rights and earnings, or taking from citizens the stimulus to individual effort. Henry George's assertion was that this whole problem centered on the land and would be solved by a "single tax" which takes for the community the rent of the land, its yearly return from natural superiority or social development, and leaves to the private owner right of possession and the yearly return from his labor in tilling it or his capital in improving it with buildings. Nature gives not only to some land, but to some brains, greater productive capacity than others, and while patent and copyright laws, as provided by the constitution, and the security guaranteed to private property, assure to him the fruits of his brain labor, "income taxes" and legacy and succession duties are a means of reclaiming for the community some portion of the

Henry George's Plan

larger wealth which the coöperation of the community has enabled the richer man to acquire, as in the year of jubilee the Jews were required to make restitution.

Return to the People

This "social increment," in non-republican states, as even in democratic England, becomes in large measure the income of the sovereign, who in free gift or from motives of policy, returns it in some measure for the use of the people. Thus the palaces and the parks of monarchs become the museums and playgrounds of the people, in many of "the *effete* despotisms of Europe," and music and other entertainment, like the *panem et circenses* of decadent Rome, are sops to Cerberus. Republican France has taken over from the Empire the traditions of a state-supported opera, theatre, and school of music, with free performances on public holidays, and the success of these as educational institutions has led many Americans to look favorably upon this degree of socialism. Certainly, in a democratic republic, the people should come to their own, and be not less "well off" than under less popular forms of government, and when the fruits of the social coöperation accrue rather to a plutocracy than to the people, there is sure to be social discontent.

The remedy is perhaps in recovering for expenditure on behalf of the people, through taxation, the benefits of the social increment, and leaving the people otherwise untaxed, so that they have money to use for private and self-supporting enterprises of social improvement or entertainment.

Large Problems

There are some things worth doing which must be done, if at all, by government, because no less extensive form of social organization can cope with the large problem involved. An imaginative astronomer has indeed seen on the planet Mars evidence of a human life and of a world-coöperation, government on the grandest scale, in a great system of canals, necessary in the drying-up stage of the life-history of that planet, to supply water from its polar to its torrid regions. A great river flows through thousands of miles; millions at its mouth are dependent upon thousands at its source. If forests are destroyed, droughts and floods follow. No less organization than the power of the nation can cope with affairs of this magnitude. There was like justification for the first Pacific railroad, built across the continent during the civil war, and for the Erie canal in the early history of New York

State. So, too, in our cities, adequate breathing-spaces can be provided, in great and small park reservations, only through the governmental machinery of the municipality on whose behalf the State exercises its right of eminent domain. In water-supply, the same large treatment is needed. Education is a necessary equipment for the citizen in a democracy, and as some parents could not or would not supply it to their children, the State provides it for all and compels all to come in. The undertaking of postal as well as educational service by most governments is an outgrowth of both lines: mail communication is a matter of education, but is also concerned with vast distances and wide public interests. All these are very practical questions to us and to those who shall come after.

Opportunism

It may indeed be said that in government, as in all human affairs, in the complexities and cross-currents of modern life, it is easier to state principles than to apply them. All governments are the evolutionary results of a process of adaptation. Every step is a resultant of, a compromise between the forces of inertia and of change. Each statesman is in a sense an "opportunist," biding

the right moment to bring his principle into play. There is continual conflict between those advocates of principle who desire always to act now, radically and perhaps rashly, and those advocates of policy who would wait "the more convenient season" which perhaps may never come. Between this Scylla and Charybdis, the statesman, the citizen, must always be making his difficult choice. There are times when the highest principle is the timely expediency.

The true Patriotism

As men come together and the world becomes one, it is seen that the brotherhood of man is the goal of a true and wide patriotism. Yet patriotism, the largest of virtues, may be de-humanized into the most deadly of vices. "Our country, right or wrong!" is a war-cry of savagery, not of civilization. "Our country — may it always be right!" is the peace-word which prevents war. That parties, differing in domestic affairs, should perforce unite in any quarrel, however unjust, with foreign peoples, is a superstition directly inciting party leaders to foreign wars when domestic dominance is in jeopardy. The bravest patriotism is that of the citizen who dares stay his country from wrong-doing in

face of that wild overwhelming of public opinion — "By Jingo, we will!" — with which the savagery latent in humankind breaks out in each generation. The horrid argument that wars "better business," — which means for the time the diverting of workers from productive pursuits into a consuming army, the lessening of their number by killing and maiming, the waste of material and destruction of property, and the misdirection of transportation and other industries to unproductive purposes, — means also that the fire which reduces a city to ashes amid a holocaust of human lives is for the common weal. This is the devil's logic of half truth — and this sowing of tares indeed brings bitter harvest.

The Outcome of Democracy

As the wide earth has been "settled," as the migratory tendency therefore becomes less tribal and more individual, as travel, commerce, education, civilization, the unification of the world, break down the barriers of race; as, on the other hand, men, less "subject" to the forces of nature or to brute-force of men, are their own masters, come to their own, own themselves — the evolution of manhood develops toward self-governing democracy, and makes for peace. Thus at

the close of the great century of progress, despite outbreaks of war and conquest and injustice among the nations of the earth, national relations have broadened into international relations, a court of arbitration for all nations is growing from a hope to a fulfillment, and an injustice to one man convulses the whole world. A true Democracy, in world-wide brotherhood, will lead mankind toward an age of golden peace.

OF RELIGION

OF RELIGION

RELIGION, binding anew the material with the spiritual, fulfills man, making him whole. It is therefore the supreme art of life. To heal men, to make them whole, to call them to health, wholeness, holiness — for these words are all one word — has ever been the end of religion. The man of whole life, *integer vitae*, sang the Roman poet, fears not, and is conqueror. Religion sanctions and sanctifies life, is its binding force. What, then, is religion?

Religion the supreme Art of Life

To this, the question of the ages, sect makes answer with creed, Christianity with Christ, the Jew with his One and Only Jehovah, Buddhists with the Noble Path and Mahometans with the teachings of Al Koran; priest, ritualist, puritan, each after his manner; while the reverent agnostic asks if he may not also be religious. The man of twilight times — "and in his soul was twilight" — our far forefather, like the savage of today, saw in the lengthening shadows of the setting sun, in the voices of the dark and of the storm, in dawn and cloud and stream and wood, in the mysteries of nature and of

What is Religion?

death, something beyond this material and present life, and imaged a Great Spirit, in an unseen world where dwelt the spirits of the dead, in worship or fear of whom he ruled his life, guided by medicine-man or primitive priest. Here was the early development of the religious instinct, from which in the progress of mankind was evolved, despite confusion of creed and of ceremonial, a wider recognition of Supreme Law and a higher thought of God. Throughout the earlier religions, — nature-worship, rites to ancestors, idolatry, the multifarious gods of India, the personification of manifestations and of attributes in Egyptian, Greek, Teutonic mythology, — modern thought finds evidence of a recognition, if dimly or not at all by the people, yet oftentimes clearly by the priests, of a Supreme Spirit, the Only God of Abraham, Rewarder of good to the spirits of the dead, in some cults combated by a World Spirit or Evil One, who was in most theogonies a lesser deity to be overcome by the Good in the final judgment. In these three concepts, of a *quasi* human God, of an after-life of men in an unseen world, of the relation of the ethical aspects of life to the Unseen, a modern evolutionist sees the essential features

of religion. But a wider thought of religion would not exclude the essentially religious spirit, denied by temperament or habit of intellect the conviction of a personal God, whose perception of an after-life is in hope rather than in belief, which nevertheless recognizes in the universe a moral order, a Power that makes for rightness, in coördination with the higher or spiritual nature of man and affording a spiritual or supera-material sanction for right conduct. **Universal Concepts**

That this world is ruled by righteousness is a thought so deep in the race that it is found at the roots of language. Our very words "morals" and "ethics" mean customs, that is to say, customs are based on a sense of rightness and fitness, and from them our code of morals or ethics, our practice of right, has developed. In the wider sense, religion is the recognition of the supremacy of the higher life, the spiritual, over the lower life, the material, which gives spiritual sanction to right living and sanctifies life. For the soul, the spirit, must have its supreme place in life. **The Rule of Right**

Thus religion, as an art of life, is the art which cultivates spirituality, which develops

The supremacy of Spirit

character on the spiritual side, which uplifts duty by love. Conscience is the chisel by which the divine touch carves from the marble of human being the lovely statue of the perfected soul. It is the building upward and outward, by good thoughts and good works, from the lower self into the higher, the image of God, the ideal. Thus we realize, in the higher Christianity, the ideal which was the aim of the Greeks, but which they achieved in physical rather than spiritual perfection. It is for us to know, to have, to rejoice in both. Spirit rules body, God self, good evil, right wrong, in a working and resultful optimism which is faith. Morals is the bed-rock of religion.

The working Ground of all Religions

The geologist may not get near to the molten center of this earth, or the religious thinker penetrate the mysteries of the First Cause, but each nevertheless has sufficient field in the working ground of all mankind. In that eternal round, the Unknown, God, Humanity, the Unknown, it is not given us to know the infinite answer to the infinite questions, Whence? Whither? Why? — but the Here, that is our affair. And on this ground of morals, in the analysis of working religion as an art of life, there is a widening

agreement among all religions and all sects. At last Christians begin to learn that if God is our Father, and Jesus the Elder Brother to us all, then we must all be brothers one to another — through Christian sect and non-Christian majority; and to learn this is to make much the essentials and to make little the differences of religion, to live a true personal life in harmony and godly love.

The Uplift of Love

And it is only on this basis that religion and morality have meaning. They together are one, and make together the supreme art of life. The idea of duty, the conception of love — in these, life flowers. Herein the fierce warfare of every man for himself is tempered into love in fellowship, in friendship, race-love. Herein the strongest passion of the body is redeemed and transfigured into love in marriage, sex-love. Herein sins themselves are transfigured into stepping-stones that lead heavenward, in God-love. Man is religious in essence: on the ethical idea all religion builds, on the idea of spirituality all religion soars, as the cathedral is crowned by its spire. Duty and love — these are feet and wings of the man spiritual. The religion which says, We cannot know God, worships the race and woman; the religion

which says, We do not know, accepts the command that man love his neighbor as himself.

The Limitations of Mind

There is one confession to which the Christian, the positivist, the agnostic must alike come, in negative agreement of human limitations. The Hindoos rested the earth on the tortoise, and the tortoise on the elephant, and so on and so on. But — beyond? The human mind stops here. Inspiration cannot tell it the secret, because there is no faculty which can know. The Infinite confounds us. One of two opposites must be true — but the human mind cannot conceive of either. There must have been beginning of Time, or no beginning. There must be end of Space, or no end. There must always have been Matter, or Matter must have been created out of nothing. The child asks, Who was God's father? We ask the same questions as the child. For us there is no answer; there can be none. Infinity is extension of which every point is a center: the finite mind rejects this as a mathematical contradiction.

The human mind cannot *think* a beginning, or no beginning: it cannot *think* an

end or no end, Yet one of these must be true. Eternity, Infinity, a First or uncaused Cause, it can name, but it cannot conceive of them, or their absence, or their contraries. These be mysteries. The eye cannot see sound, neither can man reason of things beyond reason. That we cannot *think* either of two alternatives, one of which *must* be the truth, is a sufficient commentary on the limitations of thought, and the final proof of humility. Beyond, reason goes not: here the Christian rests his doubt, the unbeliever his challenge. If we cannot know God, neither can we deny his being. It is the fool who saith in his heart: There is no God; what knowledge hath he by which he may deny? The pantheist quibbles with himself: his Soul of Nature is not less unthinkable.

The Unthinkable

Yet in these days it is often the wise man, the unselfish and earnest thinker, who cannot truly say, "I believe." His *credo* has become *spero*. He will hope. He cannot by searching find out God: he hesitates to surrender reason to an elusive, perhaps delusive, faculty beyond reason: he will only reason about and recognize the limits of his reason, and, with hope, set himself to apply the past

Credo or Spero

to a present which is making the future — whether the future be his or not his, infinite or finite. For such a man there can be no hesitancy of fear; there is no place here for the coward. The man of science must see what his sight shows him. He must believe not in Belief but in Truth. He must inquire of facts, not threaten them with fear of consequences. Here true service comes only from that unshrinking sight which discerns, and that unfaltering will which asserts, despite prejudice or tradition, those elements of permanent result that are to make the future. Shrinking conservatism may not stay him; it is not for him to bury his face in the darkened temples of the gods and cry out against the worshiper under the sunlight or the starlight of the revealing heavens. He shall try faith, that faith be found faithful, and live.

The Searcher assures Faith

Indeed, in the wide sense, it is the province of the scientific investigator to assure faith. He has no fear lest, fighting for good, in line with truth, he haply be found fighting against Him who is Giver of Good and Author of Truth. There is nothing more skeptical, more irreligious, more essentially atheistic, than that religion, falsely so-called, now pass-

ing away, which flings Nature in the face of God, which makes its God illogical, inhuman, ungodly, a creator at odds with his creation, a contradiction of terms. There is nothing more promotive of real and abiding faith, more religious in binding men with good, more vitally godly, than that science which presents one harmony of Nature and of Gospel, working together, through convertive evil, into higher good; which leads to a reconciling faith that when it finds God finds Him law-abiding, humane, truly divine, a logical God. Bravery is the best evidence of faith.

The Sanction of Science

Science, we hear over and over, is skeptical and disastrous. If it be skeptical, it is disastrous, for no people that believes not ever does greatly. It *is* faith that moves mountains. But this earnest questioning that seeks the True and the Good in religion, in morals, or in knowledge, — this is not skepticism, in the ill sense in which the word is commonly heard. Skepticism is the essence of negation. It is the chronic condition of corrosive doubt, doubt not simply of God but of good. In the "religious" philosophy that gives evil, or its incarnation, the practical supremacy in life, it finds its strongest type.

But when Science, in a spirit not of doubt but of seeking, brings to us with her questionings the strongest sanction natural ethics can receive, she brings to us also new stimulus of faith. That sanction is the simple fact of the eternity of influence. Every motion alters in its degree the relations of the universe forever. In this sense nothing dies, nothing is lost. Responsibility is infinite. Science confirms the sanction of religion; the one approves what the other has foresaid.

Fatalism irreligious

There can be no greater mock of a real religion, a true God, a living faith, than the fatalism which finds its culmination on the one hand in the dull serenity of the Mahometan devotee, on the other in the lurid predestination of a Jonathan Edwards. The logical result is fatal ease of conscience — the sensuality of the Turk, or that reckless indifference to unavoidable sin, the dreadful results of which among his flock drove Edwards from his Northampton parish after "the Great Awakening" had done its awful work. Ever the human soul revolts against the metaphysical chains which deny its freedom. Predestination we know indeed, in

science, as heredity, environment, circumstance, which make tendency; but tendency is not all — there is something within which can direct, convert, utilize tendency. We know it; we feel it; we build all practical life upon it. "Sir," said Dr. Johnson, "we *know* our will is free, and there 's an end on 't." "Reconcile the foreknowledge and the foreordination of God with the free will of man? Your own conscience," — answered Mr. Apollo Lyon to the would-be Devil-puzzler. It is this, in the finality, on which all practical religion is based.

The old Evidences

In progress, much comes, much goes, much remains. The old "evidences" of the Christian faith, which through the centuries have raised more doubts than they have solved, give place to a larger faith and a wider hope. One by one they have gone, but in their place greater has come. The *consensus gentium*, the majority vote for Christ, so to speak, was an argument that meant much until it was met by the arithmetical fact of the wider vogue of the earlier Buddha and of the later Mahomet. The Christian who builded on this ground found it swept away as sand, and his faith with it. So long as all religions but Christianity were "heathen," —

works of the devil, — so long it was evident that the devil had the better of God in His world.

The new Evidences

But modern investigation, in the true spirit of science, has opened our eyes. We witness the evolution of religion, from a lower to a higher thought of God, from a lower to a higher conception of good, from a lower to a higher ethical standard. And evolution itself teaches us that as all appetites, functions, and instincts prefigure something in the objective environment which answers to their subjective demand, as hunger implies food, and thirst drink, the eye light and the ear sound, sex-love woman for man and man for woman, so there must be answer to man's spiritual instinct, his appetite for religion, his thirst for God, his desire for a future life. Thus science confirms and broadens faith. In all religions we see God, adapting Himself through human leadership to humankind, according to the need of tribe and time. In the great books of the great faiths we read Gospels only less noble than those of our own Bible, the Book of Books. Even in the stocks and stones of the savage we find symbols of a Great Spirit, a God dimly seen by dim men. In due time came

the Christ, son of God, God in man, divine or human, to vouchsafe to the higher races of mankind at once the simplest and highest of religions, the essence of all religion, in whose Light we have Life.

The Use of Criticism

So, also, the letter, "which killeth," is no longer the foundation of faith. A reverent criticism, tracing the evolution of our religion from the fierce Jahveh of the nomad Israelites to the loving Father of all men, has brushed away much legendary tradition, much repulsive teaching of a rude race, and taught us to reject the human weaknesses of the writers and to reverence all the more the spiritual strength which has made our Bible the Book of Books. And with "verbal inspiration" has been swept away also the confusion of creeds built upon contradictory proof-texts, erroneous translations, and verbal misconceptions; the whole fabric of verbal religion has indeed been whirled away into thin air.

The mystic Birth

Even the miraculous birth, the immaculate conception, which has in our own day been carried yet a step further as a foundation-stone of one great church, is seen in a new light. In the dim and shadowy days of our

far fathers, before writing, every hero was miraculously born; and in later ages, about Buddha, as Founder of a Faith, centered the very legends associated with the birth and childhood or our own Jesus. This discovery destroyed nothing. To the true disciple it confirmed faith, because it showed how the ever-recurring yearnings of humanity, forming themselves into loving legends, wove this wreath of miracle with which to greet the son of God, or son of man, who was to bring God down to man, to lift man up to God.

All Birth is Miracle

The miracle of this Birth, be it truth or legend, is patterned indeed by every birth, the daily miracle of new being. That the seed of a flower, the acorn of a tree, should contain within its tiny self the laws, principles, and tendencies which define it as itself, which from one or another set of cells of starch develop the simple blade of green grass, the tasseled ear of corn with its mathematically arranged kernels, the white and shining lily, the exactly patterned color of the pansy, the parti-colored tulip, the spired poplar, or the spreading oak, — this would pass belief were it not the common experience of our daily life. Said Linnæus, as he watched a blossom

unfold: "I saw God in His glory passing near me, and bowed my head in worship." So, too, the egg of insect or of bird, — of the queen bee, with its passionate instincts developed in the chrysalis; the duck, whose young take to the water from their shells; the pigeon, homeing true from fields far and unknown, — each is a mystery and a miracle. And at last these culminate in the final miracle of the human life, — bodily form and spiritual character fashioned from the parent forms of generations and ages before, mingling and commingling in forms ever new and ever old. All birth is miracle.

The Gate of Death

Life, indeed, has two gates from the unknown, and both are miracles. The gate which opens on mysterious hinges for birth is patterned by the mystic gate of death. We depart into, as we came from, the Unknown. As to immortality, it is not given us to *know*. The Christian minister, at the bedside of the dying or beside the grave of the dead, can only hope. He may not verify or prove. And Paul, in that glorious outburst of religious fervor in which the human imagination reaches its highest flight, does not *prove* immortality: his splendid analogy falters at the very heart of the question, for it is because

the spiritual body lacks that bridge in the material life with the natural body which the risen grain has in its seed that the doubter questions. As we tread in the mists of morning a great bridge suspended above a mighty river and see the curve of the cables sweeping down from the seen tower, left uncompleted to our vision in the veiling cloud, we scarcely need the witness of returning travelers to prove to us that there is a tower on the farther shore to which the chain ascends in completed curve. Yet without this evidence we cannot say that analogy is proof, or confound the doubter who says that this may be a "cantilever" balanced on one tower only and ending in the mists. On this bridge of life, over which all must pass, and on which there is no returning, we can but press on to a goal of hope.

The Resurrection

Yet natural religion points to what revealed religion asserts. The story of the Resurrection, be it vision or allegory or literal truth, voices and answers to the great hope of our race. It is, in a sense, no greater miracle than those wonder-workings of risen and ascending life which we see about us every day; yet to the earnest doubter, like questioning Thomas, the proof may not suffice for an event so con-

trary to our experience of life. The reason that "they would not believe though one rose from the dead" is that questioning minds would require corroboration and cumulative proof that the witness of whom Jesus speaks in the parable *had* risen from the dead. That which required most proof, they might say, had least. But though to orthodox believers the Resurrection may be the central fact of Christianity, it is not the sole fact, and the teachings of Jesus, before the Crucifixion, harmonized in our recognition of the imperfect media through which they have come down to us, are in themselves a sufficing gospel. And when the great Apostle to the Gentiles, whose mission was to include within Christianity all mankind, cries, in confusion of the Sadducees who had the same incertitude as to a future life that appears in the Old Testament: "If Christ be not risen, your faith is vain. . . let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," he limits Christianity by basing it on a single fact which many minds cannot accept, in the cardinal error of the sectary who asserts that if his truth is not *the* truth, there is no truth.

There are two immortalities — one certain, one possible, — the one of influence, the other

The two Immortalities

of identity. We know, for science assures us, that our deeds live forever. Let us heed and hope — for the inspiration of both is the same. And if we ask why, if human life is immortal, animal life is not? why the intelligent and kindly dog or horse, the companion of man, may not survive as well as the man brute, again the answer is, it is not given us to know. If there is truth in the theory of selective immortality, that a soul which earns spirituality earns also a future life of the spirit, while the evil or the brutish may die, this all the more is inspiration and sanction for right living.

The Miracles of Nature

The lesser miracles of the ministry are not without their correspondence in the large miracle of living. The water made wine, be it fact or phantasy, is not more wonderful than the chemist's daily miracle. An atom of carbon from our hearth, an atom of hydrogen from a drop of water, an atom of nitrogen from a particle of air, these together, no more, make the molecule of prussic acid which, by another miracle, instantly destroys life. An atom of oxygen to each makes them again earth, water, air! So, too, the miracles of healing are not without witness in our day.

Daily we see the spirit dominating the body, working in it evil or good, the will commanding the nerves and they in turn the muscles, courage resisting contagion, fear inviting cholera, cowardice producing physical effects on the eve of battle, a thought bringing the blush to the cheek or congesting the blood in other parts of the body, the spiritual elevation of the martyr defying pain, visions as of Our Lady of Lourdes stimulating recovery, and the mind-cure, despite all vagaries, doing real service to humankind by teaching the subjecting of subordinate matter to supreme spirit.

Miracles as Exceptions to Law

It is indeed not as wonder-workings, but as exceptions to law, that miracles challenge modern belief. Early man, unknowing of law, was widely credulous: he saw the unseen, spake with the dead, and expected Deity to reverse nature. But credulity is not belief. Belief requires proof, and reviews evidence. We can even reverse the seeming evidence of the senses. Incredulous at first that the world is round, that the earth moves, that the blood courses through our bodies, that one form of life is evolved by far steps from another, that the forces of nature and the sensitivities of the body are but

modes of motion, man came to belief in each of these seeming contradictions because each ranged itself at last in line with law. The modern mind accepts with rightful readiness evidence in accord with "established facts" and the observed order of nature, and as rightly it requires more and cumulative proof of what is contrary to experience, a seeming exception to law. But as to this order of nature, we do not know all; we have much to learn.

Exceptions in every-day Life

The very possibility of human life depends on two facts, quite exceptional and seemingly out of the order of nature. Water as it freezes expands instead of contracts with cold, so that ice floats and by forming on the surface protects the fluid beneath, else our rivers would freeze solid from the bottom, and in winter the flow of the earth's blood would cease. Though oxygen and nitrogen combine in wide range of chemical equivalence, air is a merely mechanical mixture of these two elements, so that the lungs absorb the oxygen freely, without the waste of force necessary to dissociate it from a chemical combination. The wonderful law of the diffusion of gases by which the products of combustion from our lungs and our chimneys are

in turn harmlessly re-absorbed into the air seems an exception contrary to the great law of gravitation. A Shakespeare, a Napoleon, an Edison, is an exception in the order of nature not to be accounted for; nor can any lesser Shakespeare, the creator of any literature, explain whence or how his thoughts came.

The Order of Nature a Miracle

The order of nature is itself a miracle, a wonder-working, and seems not so only because we do not think. It is often above and beyond sense. So the searcher for truth may not believe the miracles of the Bible; he may say with sincere judgment that they are to him not proven; but he cannot deny them. The Christian and the agnostic may in this measure agree.

The Essence of Religion

But what basis remains then for "religion" in such agreement, — an agreement on mysteries, in an Origin forever unknowable, in a First Cause revealed without absolute certainty, in an Immortality which is a hope never proven, in a Gospel which partakes of the fallibility of man, in a Christ who may be God and may be man, in miracles and evidences which may prove all or nothing. Indeed, there remains the essence of all reli-

gions, in the simplest, the purest, the noblest, the highest form in which religion has been vouchsafed to the most spiritual races of mankind. Thou shalt love God — or the Good, O skeptic! — with all thy heart and soul and mind, and thy neighbor as thyself. This is the law and the prophets. Here is broad ground on which we may agree with all lovers of good, and within which each may work out his own beliefs, provided he damn no other's.

Temperament and Belief

For belief itself is in large measure a matter of temperament, of innate tendency and mental equipment. There are those to whom it is not given to believe, however much they desire to do good and to know God. Shall the blind be condemned because they see not? A loving God will not deny mercy to His creatures whom He has not endowed with the gift of belief. The student of science, who is above all a student of the divine order, develops his mental powers nevertheless in the direction of proof, and God has not permitted Himself to be proved. Proof stops short of the First Cause. God is veiled. Let the Christian then lament the limitations which keep the man of science on one side of the veil, but let him not condemn the man

nor impeach God. Let him regret imperfections, if he will, but let him not dare to pass sentence as of God. On the other hand, suspense, not skepticism, is the attitude of science. Reverence is its true virtue, denial is its caricature. Goethe's Mephisto is the spirit that denies. Moreover, the man of science, above all men, knows the meaning of art. He preaches the cultivation of habit. Let it be, therefore, his habit of mind to cultivate himself toward that art of life which we call religion.

Limitations of Science

For science itself meets the same limitations as religion. The problem of a First Cause, of the beginnings of time and space and matter, of the finite and the infinite, are also its problems. No man living ever hopes that any human being will ever see an "atom;" yet it is absolutely visible to the eye of faith. It is counted, sized, weighed; it is the foundation of scientific reasoning. The atom, indivisible, must have size, yet can have no size. So also the "ether;" infinitely tenuous, it must be infinitely dense. Both are contradictions to our sense. What is true of the infinitely little is true of the infinitely great. The beam of light which

tells to the man of science the story of the stars appeals to his faith rather than to his sight. Between the human organism which sees, hears, smells, tastes, and feels, and the organism of nature, the physical universe, there is a great gulf fixed, and the vibrations which come from one to the other, the angels of the world physical, can be caught and interpreted only by those mind-faculties — the metaphysical, intellectual, or spiritual — which are themselves a mystery of mysteries, a miracle of miracles. Scientific reasoning is in itself a process of faith, building bridges from the seen to the unseen.

Science must question

Why then has there been conflict between science and religion? For two reasons — one of habit, and one of essence. It is the process of the man of science to doubt, to question, to deny, to reject; thus only he obtains his fine metal, Truth. It is the method of the professor of religion to "believe without question;" in his habit of mind, to question is to deny, and denial is the crime against the Holy Spirit which is the unpardonable sin. To the man of science, this is intellectual dishonesty, moral blindfoldness, treason to Truth, an impeachment of God. The virtue of virtues of the

one is the vice of vices of the other. Science is here in the right: a real God, who *is* Truth, must honor the searching which He has implanted in His own, and the ministers of religion who have preached a gospel of blindness instead of His Gospel of Light, these are they who have sinned against the Holy Spirit of Truth.

The Gulf between Science and Religion

But there seems to be between the faith of science and the faith of religion one abyss, of profound depth, reaching to the very center of all things and of all thoughts. Science is sure, religion is not sure, in the continuity and exactness of the evidences. The seeker in science finds that in the physical universe like causes produce like effects, and he reads the history of the past, the conditions of the present, the prophecy of the future, in clear, sure light. The omnipresent, eternal force of nature never fails in the physical justness, exactness, of its effects; it is on this that scientific reasoning builds its certain conclusions. The man of science asks why, if religion is true, this is not true of religion? Why does theology speak with uncertain witness? Why has religion produced conflicts, sects, wars, martyrs? Why has Christ's teaching, if it is the final Truth,

not prevailed in Christendom and among all mankind?

The Problem of Evil

And we face here also the practical working problem that ever confronts man — the problem of evil. Men of science will say that in science there is no evil. Why then this awful dilemma in religion? If God is omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, why does evil exist in the moral world? Why should a God, all-knowing, all-loving, all-powerful, permit in His world and among His creatures, these seeds of ill? Why should there be implanted in mankind passions, many and raging, to yield to which is the swift act of a moment, but which reap their harvest in the misery of a whole life and in the misery of lives to come? Why do good motives produce ill? Why are the sins of the fathers visited upon the children instead of upon the sinner? Why does an omnipotent God permit evil in conflict with His good?

Religious Difficulties

The tradition of Adam's fall is a trivial solution which common-sense religion accepts only as a parable. The blind theology of an Edwards, building a diabolic ogre of divine Justice, which wreaks infinite ven-

geance as the fit punishment of the rejection of infinite love, shutting its eyes and sealing its lips against the logical denial writ into this contradictory image of God, offers but an ostrich-like solution. And the doctrine, as old as the Manichæans, as new as the Christian Scientists, that evil or error is that which is not good or God, whether the doctrine takes the form of belief in a dual principle in the government of the universe, or of denial of the reality of evil because it is not of God, is not less unsatisfying to logical thought. The darkness is but the absence of light, the shadow conditioned on the interposition of our earth itself before the sun, our source of light; yet it is a fact inherent in the constitution of the universe and the great negative factor in each day's life. To define darkness with Edwards as produced by the sun, or with the Manichæan as caused by the earth, or with Eddy as nonexistent because not of the sun, is equally an imperfect solution. To say that God, knowing all, knows not evil, and therefore that evil does not exist, is to deny a fact of life with juggle of words. Men know evil and pain and darkness; if God does not, then men know more than God, and God is not

all-knowing. Neither the In-justice of the All-good in the Edwards theology, nor the Ignore-ance of the All-knowing in the Eddy theology, solves the problem of evil.

Evil an Incident

But we have lines of leading. We know that the choice of good, as against the temptations of evil, makes for good and produces character. The unspeakable anguish, through five years of isolation from all mankind, of the living martyr on Devil's Isle, the victim of colossal and unmitigated injustice, an agony in itself evil and only evil, is redeemed in the shining service to justice, to his country, to the world, which the faith, the courage, the patriotism, the devotion of that heroic soul have emblazoned on the black background of an infamous wrong never to be forgotten or forgiven. We see also that evil is sometimes not in itself pain, but a lower viewed from a higher condition, the shed chrysalis of the caterpillar seen from the wings of the butterfly. The family life in the humble cottage or in the tenement of the slums, deprivation as seen from the richer and fuller and freer life, has nevertheless its redeeming delight. We know also that the whole process of development, evolving good, involves evil. We ask why God could not

have created perfect man in a perfect world, and we answer our question from our daily experience that the highest result comes from upward struggle. The mountain-top, in its fullest glory, must have achievement. The cloud of evil veils the sunshine of good.

Also, the man of science is here guilty of an imperfect generalization. He is himself sure only in the elementary field in which he can fully know or completely control all the causes and conditions of his result. Thus elementary chemistry may almost be accounted an exact science and a certain art. But where he passes into complex conditions, as from inorganic to organic chemistry, he is no longer sure, for he no longer knows or controls all the conditions. A problem of evil begins to confront *him.* He starts a process of fermentation, and his bread or his beer turns sour. He administers a drug to the human system, and the results confound him. Thus doctors, who are men of applied science, notoriously disagree; and the fading conflicts of religion are not more virulent than the animosities between schools of medicine. Science also has had its conflicts, sects, wars, martyrs — nor have its martyrs always been killed by the church. The Co-

Science has its Evil

pernican view of the universe, the undulatory theory of light, the circulation of the blood, the doctrine of evolution, — these are but a few of the battlefields of science.

Science as Discoverer and Interpreter

In very fact, science, like religion, is but an interpreter of facts existent in the universe long before the interpreter existed, and has been not less slow and uncertain in reaching toward first truths. It is only within the past century that we have really read out from Christ's Gospel the full meaning of the brotherhood of man, and so abolished slavery; it is only within the past generation that we have read out from God's Nature the force of electricity, which we begin to find is perhaps the dominant force of forces, and applied it to human use. Truth has not varied; the face of Nature and of Nature's God remain the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever; but man, the imperfect instrument of perception, of interpretation, has been opening his inward eyes and his unfolding mind.

Predetermining Law

We come thus to some light upon the problem of evil. It is the light of law, the law of Nature, a divine law, which is the essence of the universe. It may be that we err in speaking of God as omnipotent, in the

sense that He is superior or acts contrary to law. In the nature of things, by definition, two and two make four, a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, a cause produces result. This nature of things God cannot, or does not, change. It is predestination. It is within and by means of law that the Great Law-giver is potent, over all things material and spiritual, which proceed from this law. And it is the law of His laws that His creation is not a perfected, but a perfecting, universe. We can conceive of an earth without mountains and valleys, without threatening cliffs or yawning chasms, or treacherous quagmires, or barren "bad lands," an earth all an even plain or undulating park land, with fairly distributed forest, with showers at exact intervals feeding rivers that run evenly into a stormless sea, an earth without darkness and bitter cold, or glare of light and scorching heat, an earth inhabited only by animals, the friends of man, and by perfected man himself, the conflict of the *carnivora* forever over, and all life supported on the spontaneous fruits of the field, without waste or loss, sorrow or pain, disease or death. But against this harping heaven the human imagination has always been in revolt.

A Perfecting Universe

Somehow, we prefer a world which throbs, an earth with mountains and valleys, with difficulties and dangers, with ups and downs, material and spiritual, in which the throes of birth are followed by the pangs of death, and life *succeeds*. As no mortal has ever designed a new form of leaf or flower that is beautiful, so no mortal has ever designed, even to his own suiting, a working world without the imperfections of this.

The Tragedy of Evil

But in this imperfect world, law itself works out evil. Though justice reigns, injustice exists. Evil is a fact. We cannot rid ourselves of the fact by calling it a shadow and a seeming, except as good also, with all things, is a seeming. The law of gravitation, which binds the solid rocks together, dashes to cruel death or yet more cruel death-in-life, the innocent child who toddles over the face of the cliff. The lightnings, the winds, the floods that keep the earth pure and sweet as the habitation of man, doom to disaster and death the most provident and the most virtuous. The tragedy of Œdipus, innocently fore-doomed to woe unutterable; the tragedy of Gretchen, surrendering self to exalting love; the tragedy of Tess, betrayed by duty itself into the toils of lust, — these are im-

mortal, because from generation to generation, such cruel facts repeat themselves in life. The individual is crushed, betrayed, doomed, by the very forces which conserve the race.

Yet these are but the spots on the sun's face. The order of nature is not, in general, cruel. Life, indeed, feeds on death; man destroys life for his own food, as the animals below him have in their turn destroyed. But such death is not a cloud that foredooms life with blackening shadow. Self-preservation is doubtless a controlling instinct, but the life of the animal is lived in hours of delight after its kind. The lurid pictures of the earth as a great killing-ground, in which poor, hunted things dwell forever in terror of their lives, is as unnatural a generalization as to judge human happiness from the story of an Œdipus or a Tess. Races, classes, are happy in their "station of life," however they may lack those conditions necessary to give their analyst his happiness. The last of a dying race, of man or beast, may not in personal being be unhappy. Most individuals have in their lives more joy in being than pain in suffering. And few, even in the most miserable of human lives, are without hope in the

Life out of Death

world. What wrecks of humanity have indeed been floated off the rocks by buoyant helpfulness of other men, and brought in safety into the haven of peace. Not evil, but good, survives.

The Balance of Facts

When, therefore, we balance facts, the existence of evil in this world is not a negation, a denial, of the goodness of God, though it may limit His omnipotence of goodness. It remains to the human mind a problem, and one of the insoluble problems. We come to think of it, in the chemistry of being, as the chemist comes to think of those wonderful re-agents which, from the simplest life-giving elements, combine atoms into a complex substance, which may be at once the deadly foe of life and the most preventive or curative of remedies against disintegration and death. Alcohol, ether, carbolic acid, are such substances. They are the servants of man, but also they slay. The drunkard whose first thirst for drink comes from the hospital medicine, the patient dying upon the operating table, the child, or the suicide, who swallows from the bottle of disinfectant, — these victims, innocent or self-doomed, as it may be, cannot cause us to forget the great good that has come to humankind from the application

of these gifts of nature, discovered by man in God's universe.

Finally, to every man who faces facts, the facts show that the dominant power in this human world, whether called God, or Law, or Fate, or Nature, *is* a power that makes for righteousness, and that to obtain the full good of life, literally to make the best of it, we must put our thinking, willing, and doing in line with that power. The development of life is a moral, not an immoral, or an unmoral, development. There are episodes in a life when neither reason nor science gives clear guiding, where to do evil that good may come *seems* the wise course, — yet every man knows that these are at worst exceptions to the law of life. To "go it while you 're young" in the pursuit of happiness is seen to be "a poor bargain with the devil." Happiness, in the lowest sense, is in the long run a matter of morals, of *morale*, in the highest sense. Those moments of infinite rapture, in the old-fashioned novel, which seem an eternity, constitute as a matter of fact a very short eternity, and are indeed but a small part of life. A happy life is lived through years of ups and downs, each of

The Dominance of Righteousness

which years has three hundred and sixty-five days of twenty-four hours each. A healthful body, a content mind, an aspiring soul, make full happiness. If the body is healthful by heredity, a true regimen in line with "righteousness" keeps it so; if by heredity it is unhealthy, the same regimen will at least better its condition, and to that extent induce happiness.

The practical Problem of Life

The questions of the origin of man are in this reading "academic." Whether for millions of years this earth, appointed among myriads of stars for the habitation of man, has been a-making for him, under the direct personal guidance of a God in whose image man is made, or whether, under the large law which rules the universe, a time has come on this earth, as it comes on greater stars, when development blossoms into humanity, the fact remains the same, — that here is man, environed by circumstances which in part control him and which in part he controls. His problem — and the problem of each of his race — is the same in either course. And this is measurably true also as to his destiny. We say rightly of many lives that they are ill requited, ill adjusted, unless they are continued into another

world, where wrongs of to-day may be translated into the eternal right. Yet, if all hope of that future life is put aside, we discern clearly enough that the way in this life is "to make the *best* of it," and that to go contrary to rightness is to invite more ill. The same living which best fits a man for a life without end best fits him for a life which ends in this world.

Why is not Religion one?

But if religion is true, why is it not one? if Christianity is the Truth, why is the Truth divided against itself? Religion has in fact been too often an antagonism instead of a communion. It has been an art of polemics rather than of irenics: the last word is scarcely to be found in the theological dictionaries. The American maiden who told the Pope that he must like her country because it was the most religious in the world — for it had most "denominations," was not without historic basis for her notion. Men have seemed to seek whereon they might disagree.

The three great Religions

Three great religions still divide the world. Buddhism is divided into a multitude of sects, on lines of division geographic, metaphysical, ritualistic, from the papalism of the Grand Lama of Thibet to the reforming sim-

plicity of the truer followers of the Buddha. Mohammedanism has its lines of cleavage, on the genealogies of the Caliph successors of "the Prophet of God;" and in the schools, endlessly subdivided, of the four great Imans who have expounded the Koran; and it finds its protestant reformers in the Wahabee zealots. Religion has been indeed the bloodiest battlefield of mankind. Christianity has warred against Islam, and not conquered; and within itself is the confounding of "the peace of the church." What witness, then, does history bear to the truth of religion, of Christianity itself? Is it not disproof? No, for the light is not less light when refracted into colors which each man sees for himself. The differences are not in the nature of God, but in the nature of man.

The real Unity of Religion

There are not many Gods, many Christs, many religions. The one God, most of us believe, has developed through the ages the supreme race of man. But of this race are many races, diverse, with minds and spirits of many kinds. The human mind is one, but its expression in speech, even though it may have been one in the beginning, tends to infinite variety. As men know more of speech, they come to know each other's

speech and to see, in all speech, laws or forms or words common to all or to many. Thus God, expressed to these diverse races and many minds, is and will always seem of many forms, seen under conditions which are conditions of the seeing, not of the Seen. Thus doctrines, or statements of what each kind of man thinks about God, become the foundations of sects. And because it is the wont of men to talk about their differences rather than about the agreements that go without saying, they build fences about their own fields of religion and think of these, instead of the great and beautiful plain which underlies them all. But those of far sight and fair eye are coming more and more to see how lovely is the land without the fences.

Sect Formalizations

Christ brake bread and drank wine with his chosen friends, with every-day bread and wine of his time, in that brave and touching scene of the Last Supper: from this has come the gorgeous ceremonial of the Roman Mass, translated into the liturgy of the Church of England; the doctrines of Transubstantiation of the Host and the Blood; the separatist exclusion of close Communion; the practice of excommunication; and the superstition of thirteen at table. Christ

dedicated himself to his work, at the hands of another, with the lovely symbol of water: from that has come the sacerdotal rite of Baptism, wrangles innumerable over immersion and sprinkling, over the baptism of infants and the doom of the unbaptized, confusions of Anabaptists and Pedobaptists, and a hundred sectaries amongst sects. Christ spoke of God as his Father, and in warfares over Trinity and Unity, in creeds where words were used to conceal the absence of thought, the brotherhood of man was long forgotten. Christ charged his friends to continue his work, and the simple organization which they adopted has been made the basis of hierarchies, episcopates, presbyteries, monastic orders, and endless varieties of church government, which in strong forms and in strong hands became tyrannies, and in weak forms and in weak hands a confusion of tongues.

The religious Reformer

Against this tendency of all religions to a formal and physical crystallization, it has ever been the mission of the religious reformer to protest, in defense of a more spiritual and less conventional devotion. So Christ against the Pharisaic Jews, Buddha in Brahmanism, Mahomet with his idolatrous compatriots

and against a debased Judaism and Christianity. In like manner, over against this extreme and that vagary, there have arisen, from time to time, reformers within the Christian church, seeking to turn it from specific errors or to bring it back to primitive simplicity. Thus Paul among the Judaizing Christians. Thus Luther. Thus Calvin. Thus Edwards. Thus Wesley. Each in his turn did his great work for God in his world. Each of these later men in his turn swung the pendulum too far in his own direction, and made a new sect, "a new wound in the body of Christ, a new rent in his seamless garment." Then came the Friends, bearing testimony of the Inner Light, putting aside communion and baptism because these had come between man and God, and in the spirit of the meek and simple Christ, seeking to dwell at peace with all men, in the simplest of religious democracies. These were the true individualists. But their very contrast of simplicity became a form; they too became a sect, persecuted even unto death by other sects, Catholic and Protestant alike; and no sooner were they crystallized by this outward pressure into a definite church body than they too "split," on the rock of the Trinita-

The Friends

rian controversy, into orthodox and Hicksite. But to all Christians the Friends brought a true thought, which has been a leaven throughout all the churches.

New Sects

Within the nineteenth century there have not been lacking new sects, seeking each in its own way to bring back the church to what the sectaries sincerely believe to be a true faith or form. The Millerite delusion overswept the whole country, and numerous bands, clothed only in ascension white, waited again and again, on days specified only to be postponed, the second coming of the Lord. The Mormon leader of this century, like the Mahomet of a millennium ago, organized a new church on a new revelation, a superstructure on Christian foundations. The votaries of both, whatever the leaders, were sincere believers, and found in their faith a true religion. The *Christ*-ians, so-called, sought to bring back Christianity to Christ. The Abolitionists found a religion in their holy cause. The Christian Scientists of to-day, emphasizing the healing power associated in the Gospels with Christ, build upon a curious mixture of metaphysics and theology, a practical working religion, with a devotional service of primitive simplicity, which preaches

a true gospel of mental and spiritual discipline as the conditions of bodily health, and has brought real Christlikeness to many thousands of disheartened and perplexed members of the Christian church.

Men will not think alike

It is not reasonable to suppose that all men will come to think alike about God, or about Christ, or about religion. As long as there are differences in the form and doctrine of religion, the Roman church, or its equivalent, giving to certain kinds of people a richly symbolized and pictureful expression of religion, relieving them of individual problems by furnishing priestly interpreters of infallible omniscience, may always exist, for it meets one great human need. The religion of individual relationship with God, of individual struggle and crisis, meets other needs, and is expressed in sects according as one or another feature or doctrine of the religious life is emphasized. Thus the Catholic church, one and indivisible, exists coördinate with individualist sects, reformed and always re-forming, — and this difference may, by the nature of the human mind, continue, perhaps always, to exist. But, beyond all varieties of faith and of form, there is a unity in the brotherhood of man, reverent of its divine

origin, in which more and more all faiths and all forms agree as the essence of religion. "Religions may die; religion lives."

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, built about the rock in which, as Greeks, Armenians, and Romans alike believe, the body of Jesus was entombed, contains within its walls chapels for each of these orders of Christians. It has been a sad epitome of the history of the church of Christ. Confusion of tongues, diverse rituals, conflicting holy days, din of discordant preachers, babble of gossip and contention, treachery and violence, have culminated more than once within Holy Week itself in murder and massacre, until the soldiers of the infidel Turk have been called in to prevent war among the Christian disciples of the Prince of Peace, in the very Holy City of the Jews where Christ is not yet owned because his professed disciples know him not. But it is also the parable of the true and possible church, in which each form of religion may have its appointed place, but under whose over-arching dome all Christians may unite in listening to the risen Truth, while Jew and Gentile, believer or agnostic, may find in the peace within some-

thing that answers to their spiritual need and nearer brings each to the divine.

Failures of the Churches

If this religion, the religion of Christ, the religion which accepts Christliness in all faiths and forms, though it be for all time and all times, must change, like all expressions of the divine through the human, in its expression, its organization, its methods, to conform with the conditions and answer the demands of each age, of each generation, of each type of mind or kind of soul, meeting with the eternal verities the needs of the passing hour, it behooves Christians to look facts in the face and learn where and why churches have failed. When the holy day becomes merely a holiday, not for re-creation but for amusement only; when neither the Bible nor other spiritual literature gives gospel to men, but the Sunday newspaper takes their place; when church meetings cannot withstand the competition of the cheap theatres in our cities or overcome the inertia of country life; when heads of churches are no longer men of religion but of affairs, and a spiritual teacher may be cast out because he does not draw to the pews a "paying" congregation; when churches have no longer

the religious vitality in their public opinion to reform or to discipline those who pay high prices for pews and hold high place in church politics, but are anti-Christ in daily life; when worship becomes ritual and prayer a form; when, in short, the church is no longer religious, — there is no longer answer within the churches to that need, dwelling within every soul, however dormant, for the things of the spirit. For "man is a religious animal" and craves spiritual food. No plea of "lack of time" can condone the failure of the churches, for in this hurried world of our day each man works fewer hours to earn a better living than in the olden times "of leisure," and has still "all the time there is." It is still a matter of choice. The dried husks of religion will never invite nor satisfy the hungry souls that flocked to hear a Phillips Brooks, for whom time was never lacking, morning, or noon, or night, to seek spiritual food at his hands.

The Differentiation of Functions

It may be that religion, like government, has suffered, in this period of transition, from the lapse of individualist relations which has followed the development of great organizations. The chief of a state, the head of a

great industry, no longer knows citizens and workers in their individual relations, but directs the mass. The shepherd of a thousand sheep cannot know his own and call each by its name. The preacher who attracts a thousand hearers into a great church-house cannot be the pastor of a thousand souls. The Pope, as the head of the great Roman hierarchy, dispenses religion as it were at wholesale. The Protestant bishop is an executive, no longer distinctly a godly man, but a man of the world, of affairs, whose conversation is not of religion but of everything else. To this extent, the church has recognized, somewhat to the bewilderment of its people, the differentiation of functions or of duties which has developed elsewhere in modern life.

Pastor and Preacher

But few Protestant churches have followed the example of Plymouth Church in providing a pastor as well as a preacher. The "minister of religion" must be orator, organizer, executive, spiritual adviser, and comforter, in one. But to few men is it given to be all these: Phillips Brookses are rare. The Roman church with its superb organization has more availed itself of this principle of differentiation. The Puritans of New England had their preacher and their teacher for each

church. When a church committee "calls" a new man, who will "fill the pews" and be "heard of in the newspapers," and disregards character and the quality of spiritual sympathy, expecting from him that which he cannot give, it commits a double wrong. And when the theological seminaries, fencing out men of large spirituality by narrow creeds, and by unwise beneficences inviting weaklings, spiritually and otherwise unfit, to secure a living in the church, send men out to strangle struggling churches at home or to misrepresent Christianity and misunderstand paganism in the missionary field, the church is handicapped with a burden no other modern organization carries.

The true Church of the Living Christ

A live and life-giving church must offer to men a living Christ, whose "second coming" is visible in the lives of disciples in whom his spirit is ever-present. It proves itself by doing the Master's work, fulfilling in its day his mission to men. A church of Christ should create a Christ-like environment for those within its fold, helping these to be Christians in every-day life, and should offer in its members a Christ-like example to those without, winning those to become Christians. In such an environment, each disciple is in-

spired to discipline, to devotion, to achievement toward likeness with Christ, and out of it should come the ideal, yet to be realized, of the Christian state. The primitive church, the Pilgrim fathers, the pioneer reformers in each Puritan movement before it conventionalized into sect, constituted literally a band of brethren in the bond of Christ, a spiritual family, known each of all by his name, united in personal intimacy as well as by common purpose, having all things in common so far as necessary to respond to spiritual or physical need, knowing no distinction of class within and reaching out to welcome into communion men of every class without, creating thus a Christian environment, a possible millennium, in which outward circumstance, however hard the physical lot, ministered unto inward peace. The confessional of the Roman church, the crude relations of the Sunday-school teacher, the formal visitation of "the minister," are sorry substitutes for this heart-to-heart relationship, the touch of soul with soul, possible among such bands of disciples, in a sympathetic environment, by help of which religion is made applied ethics and the spirit is enabled to withstand in the struggles of daily life.

Rites of the Church

It is natural that there should be "rites" of the church, as of other organizations. Every society accepts or initiates its newcomers or novices with more or less of ceremony, receives some formal enrollment or pledge, and holds festivals of communion or of commemoration. As the mystic gates from Eternity, through which the spirit incarnated in body makes entrance and exit, open and close, in birth and death, it is the proper office of religion to give wel-come to the arriving and God-speed to the departing soul, in baptismal and funeral rites; and the wedlock of man and woman, from whose union, the foundation of the home and of human society, is to come offspring of new life, should also have sanction from the church as a part of the divine order. But the churches, bidden to seek and to save all men and to rejoice in the faith, have ever committed the dull and deadening error of making entrance or "confirmation" not a dedication but a definition, profession not of desire to live the Christ-life but of intellectual belief in complex and contradictory creed, fencing out more than it gathered in; of converting the memorial supper from a feast to which all are bidden into a sacerdotal ceremony excluding would-be

guests; of marking the exit of the believer into eternal life with trappings of woe and lamentations of penitential grief. Christ invited the multitude to flock to him on the open hillsides of Judea; his ministers raise barbed-wire fences of creed and catechism even against the tender lambs who would seek shelter in his arms. The subtleties of the Nicene and the anathemas of the Athanasian creed, even the phantasmagoria of the simpler Apostles' Creed, so called, the "thirty-nine articles" and the "shorter catechism," overlaid upon the religion of Christ, perplex and repel the thoughtful and candid soul, and condemn the pulpit, bound by conscience to expositions against which conscience revolts, to verbal dexterities and logical evasions which are both irreligious and immoral.

Fences of Ritual

The creeds and articles of the sects are not the only survivals from a dead past which afflict the church and must pass away. Sacrifice, ceremonial, intercession, have been the vicarious exercises of religion by which a priestly class, from medicine-man to Roman priest, came between men and God. Fear, lording the savage mind and super-stitious into our own day, imaged a God of Wrath and Death, whose anger was to be appeased

Superstitious Religion

by taking life — the slaughter of enemies, the sacrifice of children, the burnt-offerings of flesh — and ungrudgingly paid taxes, in blood-money or tithes, for hire of those who could ward off His terrors. For to Ignorance the unusual in Nature — the storm, the flying comet, the stroke of death — is the striking fact, unmindful as it is of the sunshine and the starlight in which Nature usually abides and which suggests in the reflecting mind the smile of a God of Love and Life. To us it is not waste, but use, that pleases God; sacrifice gives place to service. The abnegation of monks, as St. Simon on his pillar, or he who in the Russian Lavra lived his useless days immured in earth to his neck, is no longer religious. That power of the priesthood, the tool of statecraft, to invoke destruction of the disobedient, as when Moses is said to have punished the democratic revolt of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram by causing them, "even to their little ones," to be swallowed up by the earth, is passing out of human belief, and with it "the forgiveness of sins" by a vicarious absolution. So, too, that view of prayer which makes it a special appeal to Deity to abrogate His Laws in our favor or against our adversaries, and with it will pass,

Priestcraft

let us hope, the habit of taking His name in vain in so-called prayer to expatiate upon and explain the happenings of the day or to parade "the finest prayer ever addressed to a fashionable audience" or the weary waste of words of the prayer-meeting Pharisee. When, in the Mexican revolution, the revolutionists, under the white banner of Our Lady of Guadaloupe and the "powers ordained of God," with the sacred image of Our Lady of Los Remedios, looked to this same "Mother of God" to invoke victory for each against the other; when, in the Cuban war, Catholic priests and Protestant ministers on either side, American and Spanish, vied in adjuring their common God of peace to overwhelm His, meaning their, enemies; when a community beseeches the Lord of Righteousness to "direct and prosper, for the safety, honor, and welfare of His people all the consultations" of a body to which it has sent an unrighteous representative; when a church begs the Law-giver of Nature to "restrain these immoderate rains" and "send us seasonable weather," — then prayer becomes a mockery, provoking the inward derision even of the most religious, and is no longer a religious exercise.

The Mockery of Prayer

The Exercises of Religion

But despite perversions of rites and of religious observances, the exercises of religion must remain a part of life so long as the spiritual nature remains a part of man. It is still true that human beings need, and are likely always to need, means of spiritual expression and communion which shall satisfy the hunger of the soul. The exercise of religion implies food and regimen. The spiritual man, like the physical man, needs nourishment and discipline, aids internal and external, to assure wholeness of life. What the great apostle means by faith and works, the uplifting of the soul toward the heights as well as the daily toiling on the plain, are necessary parts of the religious life. Service, worship, prayer, are natural means of spiritual development. For service only, the gospel of works, that love and duty towards our neighbor which is the best fulfillment of love and duty toward God, though the practical side of religion, is not enough. Mere altruism is not all. Man, as a social being, craves expression in common of his religious or ethical aspirations, as in public worship, as well as individual uplifting, as in private prayer.

As in social celebration, or on political occasion, men gather for the expression of com-

mon thought or aim, hearing together the inspiring thoughts written aforetime, joining in song, renewing fidelity to their common cause, gaining new inspiration from the winged words of an "orator of the day," so religion answers a like need in a like way, developing this natural "order of exercises" into rich liturgy, or confining it to Puritan simplicity. When men are not repelled by dry form and rigid creed, but are offered the bread of righteousness and the water of life that answer to the spiritual hunger and thirst in every man, it is not duty that drives them to church but desire that speeds them, as a lover to his beloved. To the feast of the spirit all men come gladly, if they are but rightly bidden; religion need hold no second place after business, politics, society, amusement. To Phillips Brooks, preaching in Trinity Church at noon-time, Wall Street flocked.

Church Liturgies

The great preacher has always his mission and his hearers, and, though from the pulpit of sect, he preaches to the church catholic, not theology but religion, not doctrine but devotion, "not creed but Christ." It is not given to all preachers to be, nor to all hearers to hear, a Beecher or a Spurgeon,

Preaching

yet men have only to be awakened by the enthusiasm, the God-in-us, of a religious reform or the force, too often crude and fleeting, of a "revival" of religion, to "crowd the churches" of humblest pulpits. And it should not be forgotten that every preacher of righteousness, from platform as from pulpit, is to-day, as of old, a prophet of God, aiding in the development of character, personal or national, toward the spiritual life. The spoken word kindles as the written word does not, and every man is the better for joining in the assembling of the people together, with uplift of common rejoicing, in "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." In the richer forms of public worship, noble music, art, and architecture perform their splendid part as accessories of religion, but are a poor substitute for it when they become the idols of the church. As for doctrine, whereon men agree to disagree, and the study of the scriptures in its light, it may be that this will become the function of smaller organizations of fellow-believers within the greater church, as chapels in a great cathedral, in whose class-rooms the teacher of righteousness expounds to men like-minded with himself their view of truth.

Spiritual Songs

The seeker after God, the student of the spiritual life, who obtains inspiration in the common joy and instruction from his spiritual teacher, needs not the less the private aids of prayer and meditation. As the thought of God changes from a Boss or Joss to be placated and besought for favors, to a Divine Power ruling the universe by laws of righteousness, there comes a like change in the thought of prayer. True prayer, whether in speech or in silence, public or private, is a communing with the divine, a meditation on divine knowledge, a recognition of divine laws, an aspiration toward divine being, raising the soul into active harmony with the divine order, and is in this sense the more an active part of religion as the vital relationship of each soul with the divine is recognized as the essence of religion. The office of prayer is not to beg God to stoop to men, but to uplift men toward God. **Prayer**

Both in public worship and private meditation, man finds spiritual food in the sacred literature of the past and of the present, — in the reflections of the divine thought in our own Book of Books, seen not as infallible and perplexing dogma but as the record of a religious yet errant race, in the Bibles of **Sacred Books**

other religions, in the holy books of all times, in the uplifting literature of great poets and great thinkers, in all scriptures that make for good. These are the seed-thoughts which, germinating in the meditations of the devout mind, produce the flowers and fruits of spiritual blessing. And not least the contemplation of Nature and the study of its law, as developed in science, in which shines out the order and law of divine mind, are distinctly, to him who sees and reads aright, an exercise of religion. For there is no vista opening more directly toward the conception of a pre-ordered development under divine thought than that which sees the evolution of the material world from nebulous "star-dust" into suns and planets, becoming in our own earth the home of life, developed by the wonderful principle of natural selection at last into man, paramount through mind, with whose advent there came newly into action the principle also of ethical selection, and who began to coördinate and modify and conquer Nature by mind, to compass the earth and set bounds to merely natural forces, until Nature is no longer the lord of life, but life the lord of Nature.

Nature

This we come to see at the last — that the godly life, the Christian life, the religious life, may be lived in sincere unity amidst and amongst all these diversities of theological doctrine and ceremonial expression. The Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man in Christ, are doctrines on which all Christians agree, but there is a still wider basis of agreement on which also non-Christians may stand. The goodly life is the godly life. Right living is at once the condition and the aim of a true religion. We hear talk of the need of a new religion. But we have only to practice the old. Freed from the accretions and conventionalities of doctrine and of form that are part of a dead past, the barnacles of the centuries, the old religion is found to suffice abundantly for the new times. "Do I think Christianity a failure? — I think it has not been tried!" said the great Jewish rabbi. To live like Christ has been throughout the Christian centuries a sufficing religion. Wars have been fought over definitions of God; ceremonial usages have been evolved from Christ's simplest acts; doctrines diverse and contrary have been read into His words as the basis of anathemas, — but it is the life of the Christ, in its simplest teaching, that has been the suffi-

The godly Life

cient model for all time. The way of the Christ is still the way of life.

"What would Jesus do?"

To live the Christ-life amid the complexities and perplexities of modern living is indeed no easy endeavor. The question, "What would Jesus do?" is sometimes easier asked than answered. We wish, for instance, to feed the hungry but not to promote pauperism — and so we must have our charity organization societies, and as an act of charity must refrain from an act of love. We seek to uplift our fellows by abolishing industrial slavery and organizing free labor, but not to develop a new despotism of trade unionism. We must think not only of the motive but of the effects of what we mean to be Christ-like actions. It requires indeed wide vision to apply the principle of guidance that we must work in line with the power that makes for righteousness, the work of good — and yet the Christ-life is the key to our living as to all living.

Christ-likeness outside Christianity

And when the Christ-life is simply seen, and its teachings simply read, it becomes known to us that this life and these teachings are a Bible of which there have been many translations, however imperfect, in other tongues and in other ages. Thus the follower of Christ finds Christ's likeness in the

fellowship of the earlier Buddha and sees reflections of his teachings in the Koran of the later Mahomet. Though to us of Christian faith, Christ, the supreme fulfillment in human form of the divine spirit, is the Way-shower above all who in less measure have been filled with the spirit of God, it becomes evident, as we know more and think more about the religion of others, that any great religious teacher is a leader in the upward path. The Christian may not despise those who follow the teachers of their race in paths leading where Christ led, or disdain those who practice a Christian virtue better than himself. The followers of Buddha have no need for societies for the prevention of cruelty to man or beast, nor those of Mahomet for temperance movements and prohibition parties. We need not become Buddhists to learn from Buddha, or Mahometans to seek what Mahomet may have to teach, nor join each Christian sect to get good from the precept or practice of Romanist, Anglican, Methodist, Quaker, or Christian Scientist.

As the Christ had his forerunner in John and his interpreter in Paul, so in a wider vision, the earlier Buddha and the later Mahomet had each his mission in the fulfillment

Non-Christian Religions

of religion for the races of mankind. Buddha, seeking through the great renunciation a simpler way and a truer aim, failed, as all human effort must fail, to satisfy with his doctrine of Nirvana the insatiate desire of the finite mind to solve the problems of infinity, and his followers, as generations passed, divided like Christendom into innumerable sects, papal and protestant, idolized the destroyer of idols, and formalized a religion which was to free men from forms. But Buddha's "noble path" is not the less a way of virtue and of life, and his "silver rule" the other statement of the "golden rule" of Christ. Mahomet, fierce like the prophets of old with holy wrath against the idolatrous practices of his Arab brethren, and against Jews and Christians who had corrupted the pure monotheism of their fathers with superstitions and idolatries innumerable and with ungodly life, fell before the temptation of world-conquest, and his religion became perverted into fanaticism, fatalism, and sensuality. But the simplicity of the mosque and of the liturgy, in heed of his commands against graven images and idolatries, and the devotions of his people in every-day life, are not without their lessons for Christians.

To him who sees in all times and amongst all nations the workings of God in His world, it must be evident that the three great religions which, originating within the compass of a thousand years, have divided the allegiance of the great mass of mankind, must each have a real basis for their triumph; that neither is true to the exclusion of the others, however supremely true may be our own faith; and that in the truth underlying all and to which all point is the way of life. And in this same light, the Bible, our own Bible, in the "newer criticism" which makes it human as well as divine literature, is no longer an arsenal of weapons from which one adversary may slay another with contradictory "proof-texts" and doom whole "denominations" to eternal perdition, but the record of a race gifted above all others with the gift of religion, seeking after God, finding Him in the terrors of broken law and in the beneficences of law fulfilled, listening to His voice through Moses the great law-giver and that line of statesman who were prophets of his righteousness, until in Christ the Messiah came, at last, the fulfillment of the Law and the Prophets.

The Bible

In this new light the missionary impulse

The missionary Spirit

is yet to find its full glory. At first denying to all men but the few the mercy of God, the churches presently sought to pluck "heathenism" out of the minds of half-developed men, and replace it with the Christianity of civilization, as defined by each church in its own creed. That could not be done. The result was often disastrous. Creeds confused. The Buddhist, taught that Romanists in the sacrifice of the Mass ate the body and drank the blood of Christ, or misled by the atonement imagery, not less sanguinary, of Protestant hymns, considered Christians a kind of cannibals who "ate their God," from whom his reverence for life revolted in horror. The Mahometan, confronted by the doctrine of the Three in One, by devotions before the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, and by the intoxication of men from Christian countries, was confirmed in his belief of the purity of his own religion, which knew only One God and kept him from idolatry and from drunkenness. The vices of civilization were often transplanted instead of its religion. Fire-water and firearms went with the Gospel of Peace. But now has

The Better Way

come a better way — not to destroy but to develop, to find not only the agreements

among Christians but between Christians and those of lesser light, that these may be led into the clearer shining of the perfect day. The struggle is but begun, yet the result should be sure. Christian missionaries who are truly Christ-like and have truly the missionary spirit, will seek lovingly to interpret, instead of hatefully to misunderstand, the ceremonies, beliefs, and aspirations of the twilight peoples and make them bridges toward the faith of the perfect day. And in turn Christianity is receiving from other religions their aid towards the higher life. The prayers from Egyptian temples, the teachings of Socrates and Plato, the thoughts of Marcus Aurelius, are helps to the devout life. Buddha joins forces with St. Francis of Assisi in teaching us to love our little brothers of the earth. The Orient contributes to our sacred anthology, and its aspirations seem not out of place in Christian pulpits.

Religion practical

All religions are useless, and the exercises of religion waste, if they do not show their fruits, harvest after seedtime, in practical every-day life. He who is truly godly or good will not rest short of helping in his

turn to increase good among his fellow-men, and in that sense at least bring them nearer to God, more in accord with divine order. In state as in church, in business as in society, — that is, in politics, trade, conversation, — religion must be known by its practical applications, in fulfilling the direct aim of religion, righteousness of life. And he who believes not in a "personal" God has not the less, indeed has the more, need to use all helps toward the spiritual life, which uplifts man from strength to strength, as on wings of eagles.

Soul supreme

All religions join with ethics, with philosophy, with common sense, in emphasizing for the soul, the spirit, supreme place in the making of man. And this necessity is shown by contraries. The most awful crime among the most hardened people, as the murder of a mistress from jealousy by a brutal outcast, witnesses to the strength of that personal individuality, dwelling in the body, yet not the body, which binds man to man. Friendship, love, hate, — these are relations not physical, but meta-physical, supra-material, spiritual, and they are supreme relations. The thought of the soul fighting with the body for supremacy is as old as life itself;

it is a thought in the Bibles of all peoples, and comes home to every man's experience. A modern sculptor has carven a group in which, joined as they touch the earth, the man spiritual with face alight in aspiration is seen struggling against the man physical, of form alike yet different, with face dull in brutishness. If the soul does not conquer, the body will. If the body conquers it dooms the soul to base subjection. If the soul conquers, the body follows its leadership into new life. The one is discord, the other harmony. It is only in the supremacy of the soul that life can be one, that man can live his life in unity with himself and with the Power that makes for righteousness.

The conquering Soul

And which shall be conqueror is a question not so much of original gift as of training. Despite heredity, men are born with possibilities of good, and may be educated, physically or morally, to withstand and survive the seeds of ill. The soul may be an athlete or a weakling. Many a man, puny in body, with small gift of physical life, has outstripped in the race of life his fellows of greater physical strength, by careful and well-willed development of a weak physique. So also has the soul choice. It may put itself

in line with the forces of good, or let itself go with the current of evil. It may be educated, developed, quickened; or it may be dulled, stunted, deadened. There must be training of the soul, by the exercise of spiritual powers, lest there be atrophy of the man spiritual. It is sometimes true that the uplifting of the soul requires the crucifixion of the flesh — the eternal parable of the Cross. The waters of sensuality drown darkly the breath of spiritual life. Education is therefore a duty toward the soul.

The uplifting Spirit

This the modern man too often forgets. Being good, godly, to his fellow-man, he neglects to be good, or godly, within himself. Non-godliness, not ungodliness, is the condition of present-day living. But the exercises of religion are a vital part of life. In some form, the Sabbath, the Bible, worship, prayer, or their equivalents, belong with every well-ordered man and nation. Altruism may forget self, but self should not be forgotten. We owe a duty to ourselves, within ourselves, as well as without ourselves to our fellow-man. Religion redeems not destroys self. And the higher life uplifts the body itself into its most perfect wholeness and peace. Thus the higher and the lower motives con-

join in the great unity that makes for righteousness. And whether we think only of the life that now is, or also of the life that is to come, whether the pathway of being seems to any one of us to lead to the shut or to the open door, it is in the supremacy of the higher man, in the fulfillment of the supreme art of life, that life on earth is indeed worth the living.

THE END

THE END

TO what purposed end is a human being, are human lives, developed through education, trained by business, organized as government, inspired with religion? "To the glory of God" was the easy but evasive answer of the old theology — though it counted more souls damned than elected. The glory of God we now see to be the good of man. If the balance of human living, of all human lives, is not for good, for right, for happiness in the high sense, there is no God, or He is not Good, or He has not Power — this cry Humanity, whatever its creed, utters in its heart of hearts. Thus a human life, overwhelmed by a fate which it may have invited or which may have been brought upon it by others, is minded to "curse God and die," save as, with the eye of faith, seeing its present sacrifice in a too narrow environment or in the interests of the larger life, it looks toward a life to come in which each, among all, shall see Good. The arts of life find their flower and fruit in human character — the end of life is a man. Youth builds toward age: "the best is yet to be." What through

The Purpose of Life

The End of Life a Man

the years that are told a man has become, what he is in himself, what he is to his fellowmen, this is the test of life. The artist of the Beautiful should find in Himself his Master-work. And character, within, finds expression in brotherhood, without. Through men, living, loving, Man has fulfillment. "Humanity," said Kant, "is an end, never a means merely." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," said the Christ. To-day the whole world is become our neighbor, and character, in the individual, is fulfilled finally in the brotherhood of humanity.

Ideal and working Aim

The ideal of life, though voiced in many languages and from many lands, has likeness throughout humanity, for it patterns good and seeks communion with God. But the working aim of men is variant with time and place and class. The ideal may be God, the aim Mammon. In true living, the working aim should mate the professed ideal, since in all true relations fact and theory, deed and creed, conform. Week-day work and rest-day prayer should be to the same end. The proverbial deacon of the olden time, who sanded the sugar six days in the week and led in prayer the seventh, is in our day

the "trustee" who pursues money or power or pleasure, selfishly and unscrupulously, through the week, and from an expensive pew, by which he "supports the church," "professes religion," that is, the highest character, on Sunday. This is the man in high places, not always conscious of his essential hypocrisy, who to-day prejudices against Christianity, as organized in the churches, the masses who because of him no longer go to church. This contradiction of life-service and lip-service of our day is the same scandal rebuked by Christ in his time, and it must be swept from churches by their own public opinion if the churches are to keep Christian. When a man, a nation, preaches good and pursues evil, prates peace, and makes war, de-moralization brings surely its dire results. For morals is the ad-justment of practice with profession, and from immorality de-rangement and dissolution are sure to come.

The three great Motives

In the actualities of human living, three great classes of motives have their resultant — the motives of self-interest, the motives of the common-weal, the motives of the higher life. These correspond with Aristotle's divisions of economics, politics, ethics. But mod-

ern thought has discerned that these motives do not, in true living, act separately and discordantly in different fields, but simultaneously and in unison in the general field of human action. Laws as well as men interact and are interdependent. "Morals precede and dominate economics, as they precede and dominate politics and ethics." "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One God," is a truth throughout all Nature and all thought. Unity dominates, precedes, directs all. And in this Unity, all that is has Union, and should have Unison in united aim. Thus the aim of a man, the end of the personal life, should be to produce that character which, through the social life, contributes most to the well-being of Man. All the arts of life conjoin in the making of man, and throughout every relation of man with man should show their perfect work.

Society

In this sense, each relation of a man beyond himself is seen to be vital; casual relations are causal. Society is as a broad ocean, the common meeting-ground of men, where ship meets ship, signals, and passes on; where all roads cross; where the stranger is for the moment the neighbor. On the road,

in the exchange, wherever men meet in groups, signals cross and character should take occasion to show its colors. The drawing-room and the dinner-table gather ships' companies for the hour's voyage, who come together and go apart. Mostly the ships drift, and so their companies; relations, being casual, seem trivial. In our hours of ease, we prefer to float with the tide, to let the sails droop and the rudder go. The man is rare who masters social relations and gets the treasures from the cargo; the woman is rare who can induce people not only to give but to want the best in society. Yet even in the chance relationships, the artist of life finds flash of opportunity.

Friendship is the mutual relation by which two human beings give and take each of the other in a true fellowship. It is the immediate type of the larger fulfillment of human brotherhood. "I have called you friend" is the highest compliment. But how many are the degrees of friendship — how various its processes — at how few or how many points can friends touch! There are friends with whom we are heart's brother at first sight, at touch of hand, at instant exchange of thought, yet in complete recognition of an eternal

Friendship

relationship; there are those with whom relations are of slow growth, but then enduring and rounded; there are those with whom we make contact only in this phase or that mood of ourselves or of them. The use of a friend is to supplement and complement us — to strengthen us in our strength, by doubling native resolution, to buttress us where we are weak, by ranging another soul alongside in support of us, to uplift and sustain us on the high plane of our best endeavor. A man is entitled from his friend to sympathy and support for the best that is in him, and he must give in return; otherwise friendship is a poor thing and of no avail. Thus two are more than twice one, in that spiritual mechanics which is above mathematics. How much to make England great came from the friendship of Bright and Cobden! Yet how often, in our disregard of the arts of life, do we fail to give of our best to our friend, or get from him of his best — how often do we let relationship degenerate into dull routine of commonplace! All art requires effort, all work of the artist personal and purposed exertion, — it is only machinery that can grind out, without fresh impulse, its dull product.

The Use of a Friend

Friendship across Sex

For that true and pure relation between a man and woman, which adds to friendship the charm of sex, which is more than friendship and less than love, we have no name, because it hovers forever between both and cannot in itself be defined. For friendship is the final and settled and abiding relation within sex, between man and man, between woman and woman, and love the like relation across sex, between the one man and the one woman. It is the aim of nature that one man should be joined to one woman, in love, whose fruition is the future; but it seems also an aim of nature that the subtle influence of sex, which adds something of charm and delight in every relation of life, should not be denied its more general outworking in the making of the present, in the unfolding of the woman, in the uplifting of the man. But because Nature, with this motive of providing surely for a future race, has so kneaded into ordinary human clay the lower passion and the higher glory, because this relation is a borderland of twilight, there is in it also the danger of twilight, the confusion of paths. It is only by open-eyed and clear-sighted vision that this difficult path, the nearest to the supreme relation and in some

ways enlightening even beyond the every-day closeness of married life, can be rightly and safely followed. It is a path between the heights of love and the precipices of passion; it may lead upward or downward; but walked in trueness and high purpose, its denials and limitations are in themselves development.

Marriage

In the supreme relation between one man and one woman, toward which all Nature prepares, the home is founded and the future has birth. The marriage customs of a crude social state, marriage by capture, by purchase, through the negotiations of parents, or the machinations of the marriage-broker, polygamy and concubinage, as told us in the older portions of our own Bible, still survive, alas, as in the marriage of an American fortune with a foreign title or in relations politely veiled from formal recognition. But more and more, despite the conventional form of our marriage ceremony, marriage has become the mutual pledge and self-betrothal of the man and the woman, in equal relations, each to the other all in all, for a union abiding and supreme, essentially religious because of its up-reaching into the higher life,

and its out-reaching into the eternity of the future.

In the quickening moment of a true espousal, all things seem possible in a new world to which marriage is the portal. Yet how often the spiritual passion also cools from its divine and creative ardor, the moment of exaltation does not abide in movement of spiritual mutuality, the emotion lacks fulfillment in motion onward, and man and wife descend too soon from the mount of transfiguration to the dull grind of daily routine, and in "the 'of course' of married life" the quickened again become dead. Here also supreme and abiding achievement can be had only by high and continuing endeavor. All that all arts of life can bring into lives should come together and find fulfillment in this supreme relation, — and this can be accomplished only by conscious and purposed and supreme effort, in a loyalty of love which, unsparing of self, reaches by the divine law of reward the highest self-development and the noblest outward fruition.

Fulfillment of supreme Relation

And thus comes the ideal home, that little heaven below, where in happy relations of parent and child, of brother and sister, all arts of life have their origin, as the new lives

The ideal Home

unfold their petals one by one in the garden of a new Eden, the potentiality of an earthly paradise, from which love has cast out the serpent of evil. The home is ever the new center from which circle out the widening waves that go on and outward forever. It is the microcosm making in radiant multiplication the macrocosm. Here, in little, the development of the race is reflected and prophesied. From the patriarchal government of the parents, out of which proceeds the first education of the child, there is development into a true commonweal of brothers and sisters, a democracy in which each respects the rights and regards the interests of each other, throughout those little affairs of child-life, large indeed in the closeness of perspective, in which there should be a competition of co-operation in happy harmony, and from which naturally proceeds an ethical and religious evolution as justice is fulfilled and transcended by love.

Charity

Charity, in our modern speech, is the relation recognizing in those not otherwise in relation with us, the needs of our common humanity. It is a sad evidence of failures in our civilization that the beautiful Greek word

which means grace and love, suggests to us organized surveillance against fraud, and relief works in mitigation of pauperism. Love is heart-to-heart, charity has come to be at arm's length. Yet it must be seen that love cannot do as it would, without increasing the very ill it would relieve. It meets a woman shivering in the street, with a half-clad baby in her arms, appealing only by her silent misery, and it cries out against the self-restraint "charity" would impose, in deferring help until it can be given with knowledge. And then it learns that money, or fuel, or food, would but make worse a hell in which the offspring of drunkenness or vice is maltreated or exposed in the hope of thus appealing, without audible beggary, to those whose tender hearts prompt instant help. Thus in the development of the social organization, making on the whole for good, has come the need for personal self-restraint in impulses of love, and the necessity in these transitional times for large and far-reaching organization to mitigate the ills which have come with the good. Crime exists, and must be punished ; pauperism exists, and must be pre-vented for the future. The human feeling requires us to assure to the wrong-doers, and to the de-

Pre-vention of Ill

pendent, every help that can be given to them; but they cannot rightly be encouraged to propagate their kind or to propagate the conditions that have made their kind. Life may not be made "easy" for those of moral or physical dis-ease. But this renunciation of the human impulse, lest it be inhuman in its results, lays upon society, upon the thinking and prosperous classes, a higher and greater responsibility. It affords no excuse to the smug Pharisee, content not to be as other men are. The social organization must set itself to remove the causes and better the conditions out of which disease has sprung, and has meantime its deepest and greatest problem in redeeming and resurrecting into quickened life these brothers, dwellers among the dead. Each man is called to be a Redeemer of men.

The Dominance of Good

The human and humane sympathy for those who suffer, the recognition of the trials of human life, and the ills that beset human living, the "success" in the narrow sense of evil-doers, leads some, in these days, to impeach the Present as lacking a Power that makes for righteousness. This is the supreme impeachment of a divine order. The old

atheism, denying God, is of the past. The atheism of to-day is the blinding pessimism which cannot see the good dominant amidst the evils and denies to God present rule in His world; the practical atheists are those, preachers of religion though they be, who would have civilization "not mended but ended," and would replace evolution by revolution. But it is as false to cry that whatever is, is wrong, as it is fatuous to believe that whatever is, is right. The true prophet, he of the larger vision, sees through the mists and clouds to the ever-shining sun, and is the Way-shower through darkness into light. He may not falter in his belief in the rule of right and the high destiny of man.

The End of the Arts of Life

At the last, then, a man, studying and practicing the arts of life, knows himself as a part of Man, an essential and integral unit and factor in the Universe, the master-work of Nature, the agent of God, in every act acting in unison with universal Law. Evolved from the past, from him is to evolve the future. His Now is part of Eternity, and this earth a part of Heaven. The thought of Evolution, opposing itself alike to the doctrines of special creation in nature, of revolution in

society and government, and of instant "conversion" in religion, has become the great light upon God's universe, which, more than any before given to man, gives us knowledge even of the uses of evil and the great hope of the triumphing of good. In this thought, to each of the sons and daughters of men is committed the destiny of Man. This is the End of the Arts of Life.

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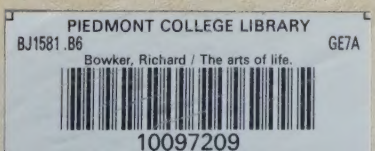
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